The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 21, 1892.

The Week.

WE give in another column a weighty letter from a valued correspondent at Valparaiso, who is vouched for, as will be seen, by several citizens of the United States, as well as by his name—a national inheritance. Apart from its direct testimony to the unwise and dangerous spirit which has characterized the actions of our naval and diplomatic officers in Chili, it is a valuable witness to the humiliation which such conduct brings upon self-respecting Americans on the scene. It is largely for their sakes, it is said, to increase their sense of security when abroad and their pride in the reverence shown the American flag in foreign lands, that bluster and bravado are necessary in our intercourse with other nations. It is a striking commentary on this doctrine that one of the earliest results of its application is to bring a mortified protest and appeal to the American people from those very foreign residents who were expected to be frantic with patriotic joy over it.

Such remarks as those of the Rev. Dr. Allis, reported in the *World* of Saturday, ought to have great weight with President Harrison. Dr. Allis is a Presbyterian missionary in Chili, now in this country, and he quoted with approval and endorsement a letter he had just received from an American resident in Valparaiso, which said:

> "Minister Egan and Consul McCreery have made a mountain out of a mole-hill, and would only be too glad to stir up a fight. The sooner Egan and McCreery are recalled, the better it will be for the good name of the United States. We are not ashamed that we are Yankees, but we are heartily ashamed of what our representatives on this coast are doing and reporting to the home Government. Chili will do what is fair in international questions between her and the United States, and it will ill befit the United States to play the bully much longer."

"The writer of that," said Dr. Allis, "fully understands the situation." He also distinctly intimated that Egan had tampered with the official communications which it was his duty to transmit to the Chilian Government. We understand that other Presbyterian missionaries are ready to testify to Egan's scandalous life and diplomatic improprieties in Chili. Now, President Harrison is himself an eminent Presbyterian, and thus has added reason for believing these missionaries of his own church to be honest and intelligent witnesses. He knows, too, that an unprovoked war with Chili would put an immediate if not permanent end to Presbyterian missions in that country, and would greatly cripple them throughout all South America. Is he, as a Presbyterian elder, going to present to the world the grotesque spectacle of first shelling and burning the cities of the Chilians, and then contributing to send them preachers of the Gospel of the Prince of Peace?

The more we reflect upon it, the more difficult we find it to believe that the President could have been correctly understood when he was reported to have declared that the trouble with Chili was not one that could be arbitrated. In his last annual message he urged the Senate to ratify the arbitration treaty adopted by the Pan-American Conference—a treaty which, as he says, this Government took the initiative in bringing about; and, when he first transmitted it to Congress, he declared that its ratification would "constitute one of the happiest and most hopeful incidents in the history of the Western Hemisphere." This treaty, which asseverates that "war is the most cruel, the most fruitless, and the most dangerous expedient for the settlement of international differences," and proclaims that "the Republics of North, Central, and South America hereby adopt arbitration as a principle of American international law for the settlement of the differences, disputes, or controversies that may arise between two or more of them," positively stipulates that "arbitration shall be obligatory in all controversies concerning *diplomatic and consular privileges*, boundaries, territories, *indemnities*, the right of navigation, and the validity, construction, and enforcement of treaties." Further than this, it stipulates that "arbitration shall be equally obligatory in all other cases than those mentioned, whatever may be their origin, nature, or object, with the single exception mentioned in the next following article." That exception is where the matter in controversy may, in the judgment of one of the nations, "imperil its independence"; and even in this case arbitration is made "obligatory upon the adversary Power."

Did the President believe, when he advised the incorporation of these stipulations in the law of the land, that he was seeking to saddle the country with degrading conditions? Was his action wholly deceptive when he renewed that advice? or has he been incorrectly reported? It will not do to say that, because the provisions of the treaty have not been formally ratified, they are irrelevant, at least as regards the President, to the present situation. As approved by the representatives of this Government and advocated by the President, they are a sham and a fraud if the principle they contain is to be scouted and rejected on the first opportunity. It is true that the representatives of some of the Central American States had hardly left the conference when their Governments went to war, as if they were trying to do all the fighting they could before the treaty was ratified. But the people of the United States, living in a "Christian country and in a Christian era," ought not to be in such haste to give the lie to their professions by their conduct. If it be true that Chili, as the President is reported to have suggested, has been "spitting" in our faces, she ought, in the name of common decency, to apologize. Who it is that has been indulging in that salivary performance we are not informed, unless it is Señor Matta, the late Minister for Foreign Affairs, of whose utterances some at least have been withdrawn by his successor. But assuming that there are other and actual grounds for demanding an apology, is it to be supposed that arbitrators would not so find? The only reason that could exist for anticipating such a result would be the consciousness that the grounds for the demand were insufficient—an admission which would be fatal to the refusal.

If the Navy Department is not careful, the Jingo policy which it is now pursuing will have an effect upon appropriations quite the reverse of that which is evidently intended and expected, unless, indeed, the American people want a navy for the purpose of swagger and bullying. If Commander Evans's despatch about the refugees was to be published at all at the present time, it should have been given out only with a censure. Our naval officers do not represent the Government of the United States in its foreign intercourse; and while this is true as a general rule, it is doubly true where such officers are in the port of a country in which we have a duly accredited diplomatic agent. Commander Evans's comment upon the action of the Chilian Minister of Foreign Affairs—that "it seems unworthy of the representative of a serious government"—is as cheap and ill-mannered as his request to the American Minister to send an insolent message to the Minister of Foreign Affairs is a flagrant transgression of the bounds of his authority. What Egan has done under the instructions of this new Secretary of State we are not informed, but we shall be surprised, little as we expect from him, if he has not refused to obey them. If the Navy Department intends, by publishing Commander Evans's despatch, to approve and endorse it, we can only apply to that Department the Commander's own language—that its action, we will not say "seems," but is, "unworthy of the representative of a serious government." But if the reports that come from Washington be true, we have no longer a "serious government." We have instead, certainly as regards the political personages who are now vociferating their feelings to the public, a mob panting to "clean out" the

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Chilians, just as the mobs at Rock Springs and elsewhere "cleaned out" the Chinese.

The action of the Navy Department in publishing Commander Evans's despatch without disapproval is rendered only the more censurable when we consider that it relates to the carrying away of the refugees who were in the American Legation. This is a subject on which the Government of the United States is bound to act with exceptional courtesy, since it is exercising in respect to Chili a right which it would never admit if the case were reversed. Extracts from the records of our Government published in Wharton's Digest show that, while asylum has always been granted by foreign Ministers in Spanish America, it has always been denounced by the United States as an anachronism and abuse, to be tolerated only in exceptional cases. Webster, Marcy, Seward, and Fish have all concurred in discouraging it, and in the printed personal instructions to our diplomatic agents (Wharton, § 104) we find the following standard rule:

"In some countries, where frequent insurrections occur, and consequent instability of government exists, the practice of extra-territorial asylum has become so firmly established that it is often invoked by unsuccessful insurgents, and is practically recognized by the local government, to the extent even of respecting the premises of a consulate in which such fugitives may take refuge. This Government does not sanction the usage, and enjoins upon its representatives in such countries the avoidance of all pretexts for its exercise. While indisposed to direct its agents to deny temporary shelter to any person whose life may be threatened by mob violence, it deems it proper to instruct its representatives that it will not countenance them in any attempts to knowingly harbor offenders against the laws from the pursuit of the legitimate agents of justice."

Among a series of evening lectures by distinguished members of the bar, on various legal topics, to be delivered to the Columbia College law students, one is to be given by Mr. C. C. Beaman, on the Geneva Arbitration—a subject on which Mr. Beaman is a well-known authority. But the Geneva Arbitration has now passed into history. All that can be or ever was said about it can be found in print by any one who wishes to study it, either as an historical episode or a legal illustration. There were giants in those days on both sides of the water, who expended on it freely all the learning and eloquence and acuteness at their command. We would, therefore, suggest that Mr. Beaman should substitute for the Geneva Arbitration the Chilian Trouble. We shall, by the time he delivers his lecture, it is true, either have settled our dispute with Chili peaceably, or be engaged in a bloody war with her. But no matter which way the negotiations now pending may terminate, Mr. Beaman, in taking the matter up, will be doing not only the Columbia College law students, but the public at large, the inestimable service of saving the country of Webster, and Adams, and Marcy, and Seward from the disgrace of going to war with a small State without any public discussion whatever of either the law or morality of the quarrel. It is at this moment seriously proposed to attack Chili, bombard and blockade her ports, and, if need be, kill thousands of her people, and make the American name for ever odious to them, without any public examination by any competent hand of the nature and foundation of our complaint against her; without any publication of the correspondence between her Government and ours; without the slightest discussion, even in the newspapers, of the facts of the case, or any attempt whatever to take the judgment of the moral and religious public on its merits. This step, if taken, will be taken solely under the stimulation, as far as we can now see, of naval officers, contractors, and nitrate speculators, and of a fugitive from foreign justice who has been and is our representative in Chili at this critical period, of whose character and capacity the American public knows nothing whatever, but whose word must be the President's main reliance when he orders the work of slaughter to begin. In this deplorable condition of affairs a leading university like Columbia could render no greater service than to employ a competent lawyer to restate, *ex cathedrâ*, what the traditions of American diplomacy are, apropos of this lamentable episode.

The contest over the Philadelphia delegates to the Republican National Convention is putting a very severe strain upon the much-talked-of "harmony" between President Harrison and Mr. Blaine. The victory of the Secretary's friends was complete, and they "rubbed it in" by adopting resolutions in the district where the Federal office-holders had made the hardest fight for the President, declaring that "it is apparent to the most casual observer that the overwhelming sentiment of the Republican party earnestly demands the nomination of Hon. James G. Blaine for President of the United States," and instructing the delegates to vote for his nomination and use all honorable efforts to secure the same. It seems equally plain that the entire delegation from Pennsylvania will be for Blaine, no matter how hard Harrison may try to secure support by the use of the Federal patronage. Nor is this the most serious feature of the matter for the President. The Secretary's friends are angry at Mr. Harrison's course. Not only, therefore, is it true, as the Philadelphia *Inquirer* says, that "from one end of the country to the other the news will go forth that Blaine has won a great victory, and the result be set forth as the first great defeat of President Harrison," but, in the opinion of this excellent Republican authority, while in the natural drift of things the delegation elected on Wednesday week would have supported Harrison next to Blaine, "the contest has aroused so many antagonisms that it is impossible to tell what it may do should Blaine decline to receive its support."

Gen. H. V. Boynton believes in following up a rascal when he gets on his track, and he is still pursuing Cox, the illiterate saloon-keeper who has organized the Republican Tammany in Cincinnati and made himself the virtual ruler of that great city. Although defeated in the attempt to substitute Foraker for Sherman in the United States Senate, Cox and his gang are at work again after their usual manner, the object this time being to secure control of the Ohio delegation to the Republican National Convention. They are using Mr. Blaine's name to help on their scheme, but this is only part of the fraud, as they do not expect him to be the candidate, but can fool the people more easily by pretending to be for him. Gen. Boynton makes a thorough exposure of the plot in an article published in the Washington *Post*. "The real question," he says, "is whether a gang, such as has been described, with the large majority of the Republican voters of the State against them, can, by the use of the machine which they have captured by stealth, and by employing deceit, and fraud, and confidence games, and by hypocritical conjuring with a great name, capture such a State as Ohio, and secure the power to cast her forty-six votes in the next National Convention." As in the Senatorial contest, the stronghold of the conspiracy is Cincinnati. Gen. Boynton declares that eight out of ten of the Republicans of that city are opposed to this degraded gang, but that they "are, nevertheless, at present prostrate before it through the gang's possession of the machine."

The three Republican Senators of this State—Messrs. Saxton, O'Connor, and Erwin—whom the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Sheehan, has declared to be in contempt for refusing to vote on the Enumeration Bill, announce their determination not to purge themselves of that contempt by apologizing. We trust that they will adhere to that resolution. Mr. Sheehan's absurd conduct, which is precisely what was to have been expected of a ward politician of his calibre, is calculated to injure no one except the Democratic party. Taken in connection with the seat-stealing performances, it is making valuable capital for the Republicans, and will help them greatly in the next campaign. In fact, from the moment that the State Canvassing Board gave the Democrats control of the Senate by stealing a seat, Messrs. Sheehan, Roesch, and Cantor have acted as if the Senate Chamber were a mere branch of Tammany Hall, to be controlled by them on regulation Tammany methods. They have adopted rules to suit themselves, are passing measures

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without examination either in the Senate or in committee, and are threatening with contempt, fine, and imprisonment those Republican Senators who oppose their rowdy proceedings. It will be a wise policy for the Republicans to give them plenty of rope.

Mr. Geo. Fred. Williams's speech at the Reform Club banquet on Saturday evening was pitched in the right key and was very telling. "I owe allegiance to my party," he said, "and my party owes allegiance to me." This was a fair statement of the contract made by and with the young men of Republican antecedents in Massachusetts who have given that State, in two consecutive elections, to the Democratic party. The Democratic party did pledge itself to tariff reform in its last national platform. It did not pledge itself to the free coinage of silver. On such a platform it received the support, and now holds the allegiance, of Mr. Williams, Gov. Russell, Mayor Matthews, and their associates. But it owes allegiance to them in the sense of remaining true to its pledges. There is nothing more hopeful to the party in its length and breadth than its gain in New England since the last Presidential election. There is a fair prospect that it may carry all the New England States except Maine and Vermont this year. But it can do so only by keeping the allegiance that it owes to the men who, like Mr. Williams, joined it for the sake of principle, and will adhere to it only so long as it adheres to its principles.

Mr. Sherman Hoar of Massachusetts has introduced a bill giving all postmasters hereafter appointed tenure of office during good behavior, and providing for promotion of postmasters of the first, second, and third classes from one post-office to another. The passage of the bill would do away with one of the greatest abuses in our civil service. The postmasters are by far the largest class of Government officers, and it is the class which increases most rapidly. There are now 64,329 postmasters of all classes, of whom only 2,942 are appointed by the President, and the number grows every year with the growth and spread of population. The term of office of the Presidential postmasters is four years, which may be cut short by removal or suspension "according to law." As a general rule, all postmasters appointed by the President and Postmaster-General of one party are removed, for one cause or another, when the President and Postmaster-General of another party come into office. The effect of this on the service need not be pointed out to any business man. Everybody knows that insecurity of tenure makes the highest efficiency difficult if not impossible. In the case of the American postmaster, however, not only does insecurity of tenure render him necessarily less efficient by acting on his morale, but it converts him into a working politician, thus seriously distracting his attention from the duties for the proper discharge of which he is paid, not by one party only, but by the whole American people. No post-office system can reach a very high standard which is manned in this way. There is, however, another feature in the system which is nearly as bad. When a new administration comes into power, no matter what the pressure of really important questions of home or foreign policy may be, it is impossible for the President or the Postmaster-General to give any attention to them until the 64,000 postmasters have been changed. Weeks on weeks of the most valuable time are spent in this ridiculous work. The spectacle, besides being ridiculous, however, is a very humiliating one for a great commercial nation. If Mr. Hoar can end it, he will be one of the greatest of recent public benefactors.

Gov. McKinley made a little speech on Thursday before an agricultural society in Ohio, in which he brandished the club over the New England woollen manufacturers once more, saying that there could be no tax on coats if there was no tax on wool, or words to that effect. This threat has been used so many times and with such success that McKinley, Lawrence, and Delano fancy that it can never fail. They have never imagined a time or an occasion when the people of the United States—the great body of consumers—would take the matter into their own hands. They have contemplated only two very small classes as having any interest in the subject or as worth consulting—the handful of wool-growers and the handful of woollen manufacturers. But the time and the occasion that they never looked forward to has come. There is now a House of Representatives in which the threat of the wool-growers is of no more consequence than was the threat of the quinine-men years ago that they would smash things if the duty on quinine was repealed. Smash as much as you please, gentlemen. You cannot smash too much for us. But as a matter of sober truth your power of smashing is very slight. There will be a fair measure of protection left for the woollen manufacturers in spite of all the smashing you can do. This will be left because public opinion is not ripe for free woollens, but is ripe for free wool.

The President's selection of United States District Judge McCormick of Texas as Judge of the new Circuit Court for the States of Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and Georgia is heartily commended by the local press of his State. He has always been a Republican, but at the same time so liberal in his views that he was once elected to the Texas Senate largely by the votes of Democrats over a narrow-minded member of his own party. In 1879 he was appointed Judge of the District Court of the United States. Shortly after the war he had served as Judge of a State court. The Galveston *News* says that "as both State and Federal Judge he was never suspected of mixing judgment with partisanship. As a State Senator he so far sank the partisan in the discriminating and diligent legislator as to command the admiration and respect of his fellow-Senators, and elicit the unqualified approbation of his constituents."

The death of the Duke of Clarence has really little importance except to his family and friends. From the political point of view it may be considered a distinct gain for the British monarchy, as the next brother is very much superior in force of character and mental ability. The possible succession of the Duke of Clarence, in these days of Radical criticism, has, in fact, ever since he reached manhood and came under popular observation, been viewed with more or less anxiety even by the stanchest supporters of the throne.

A Belgian law of August 9, 1889, which sought to provide cheap and sanitary homes for working people, was the subject of a speech by the Prime Minister December 4, giving an account of its methods and results. Its chief feature is the almost complete preservation of private initiative, thus marking it off from other legislation of the kind, and from such flatly Socialistic proposals as those lately put forth in England by Mr. Chamberlain. Under the law the intervention of the Government is limited to advances from the national savings bank to individual workingmen or to building societies at 2½ and 3 per cent., and in every case amply secured by mortgages, and to freeing property obtained under the terms of the law from certain kinds of taxation, and from liability to be lost to the family in case the owner dies before having completed his payments. The loans are made payable after a number of years, varying from ten to twenty-five, and at varying rates of annual, monthly, or weekly payment. A mixed plan is also possible by which a workingman gets an insurance upon his life by the payment of a slight additional sum. M. Beernaert stated that in the scarcely eight months of the law's full operation $33,300 had been loaned at 2⅛ per cent, and $19,360 at 3 per cent., mostly to individual workingmen, while thirteen building societies had been organized, in addition to those already in existence and capable of receiving the benefits of the law. Belgium has had so unpleasant a prominence in the labor question, what with repeated strikes on an enormous scale and anarchistic outbreaks, that it is gratifying to record a promising movement of this kind.

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NAVALISM.

THE great curse of Europe to-day, and especially the curse of those countries of Europe in which the sovereign plumes himself on being before all things a soldier, is the curse which is known as "militarism." What "militarism" means is the influence exerted on society and Government by the existence of an immense army, with thirty or forty thousand officers, whose profession is fighting, to whom peace is full of tedium and disgust, and to whom war brings not only practice in their calling, but a rapid advance towards the highest honors the State has to bestow. In order, too, to keep these men in suitable fighting condition, as Mr. Lecky, the historian, has so well pointed out, the sentiment of "honor"—that is, of extreme susceptibility to insult and of readiness to punish insult by bloodshed—has to be sedulously cultivated in them. They have, in fact, to take as tender care of their reputation for courage as a woman has of her reputation for modesty. In the peculiar condition of Europe to-day, the respectability of each State among its fellows (and, indeed, one may say, its very existence) is dependent on keeping these men in good humor. The Government is, in a certain degree, compelled to shape its foreign policy under their code. It has to be as touchy as they are and as ready to avenge slights and impertinences. It cannot safely make any concession or pass over any incivility which would in the mess-rooms be considered a good cause for a fight. It may be safely asserted that to-day the relations of France and Germany are controlled by their respective armies far more than by their respective foreign offices or by public opinion. This it is which keeps the European air so full of war rumors, and keeps the European business world in such a constant tremble, and surrounds the future of public liberty and civil government in all Continental countries with so much uncertainty. The growth of English liberty would never have been possible but for the stern determination of the people, from the earliest times, not to have a large standing army, or any army whose existence was assured for more than a year.

The absence of any such force and of all necessity for it has been one of the happy conditions of the existence of the United States. We have never had, either afloat or ashore, any large and respectable and respected body of men among us interested in war, or eager for war, or able to force us into war in order to oblige them. Militarism has been unknown in this country, and fighting, on the whole, an unpopular profession. In truth, it was the American Government which first introduced into international relations the practice of negotiating as business men, and not as soldiers. With this practice it has won extraordinary diplomatic triumphs. The Oregon boundary dispute, the *Alabama* dispute, and the San Juan dispute with Great Britain have all been settled satisfactorily to us without either army or navy. Our various smaller quarrels with France, Spain, and Germany have all been settled in the same way. Not once in the national existence, except when the *Leopard* took the men out of the *Chesapeake* in 1809, have the United States had to regret the want of a great military or naval force.

We do not use these considerations as an argument against the creation of a navy of the modern sort, to take the place of the old wooden ships which were absolutely incapable of fighting. A sham navy is worse than no navy. Moreover, common prudence requires that we should have on the ocean a force capable, if need be, of protecting American commerce, or repelling chance aggression, now that the world has grown so wide and America such a huge and far-reaching organization. But the bigger and more formidable the navy we create, the more tenaciously should we cling to the great traditions of peaceableness and good sense which have from the beginning marked our diplomacy. Franklin did not negotiate with a big sabre by his side and a long pair of spurs on his heels, and Franklin set the fashion for all our diplomatists until now. Professional fighting-men have never managed to fill the departments at Washington with their peculiar love of glory and sense of honor. It was the general expectation in Europe in 1865 that Grant's and Sherman's army would be used, and would have to be used, to overrun Canada and Mexico; but Secretary Stanton began to disband the force and sell the stores on the evening of the fall of Richmond. That was true "Americanism."

Our Navy Department, however, seems, and has seemed almost ever since Secretary Tracy came into office, to be determined to break completely with these great diplomatic traditions, to the amazement of those who knew him here as a cool, sensible, and highly respectable member of the bar. Whether for the purpose of helping the President in his quarrel with Mr. Blaine, or for the purpose of magnifying his own office, we do not know, but the fact is that he has practically taken our foreign relations out of the hands of the State Department, and turned them over to the Admirals and Captains and Lieutenant-Commanders of our new navy, who, except the Admirals, are mostly young men, full of fight and eager to show what the new ships can do — so that they may fairly be considered firebrands in every foreign port. The beginning of this extraordinary policy was the Barrundia affair, in which Mr. Blaine, either through weakness or blindness, acquiesced and, indeed, cooperated with Mr. Tracy in reducing the State Department to nothingness and handing the foreign policy of the Government over to navalism. In that case he permitted a naval commander who had, under the resident American Minister's direction, strictly obeyed in a foreign port the law of nations and the existing naval regulations, to be loaded with abuse and dismissed his ship for so doing.

We pointed out at the time the unfortunate effect which this episode was likely to have on the mind of naval officers, and the complications in which it would be likely to involve us in foreign waters, and this was long before there was any sign of our trouble with Chili. We maintained that it would make them both reckless and meddlesome and lawless, and would involve us in quarrels which we could not decently uphold. We might cite a dozen illustrations from recent events in support of this assumption, but here is one which will suffice, showing how soon the poison began to work, taken from a speech of Lieut. A. V. Wadhams of the Navy in Boston last February, before the Boston Boot and Shoe Club. Lieut. Wadhams, be it remembered, is just thirty-one years old, is a professional fighting man, and may be any day in command of a ship in foreign waters.

> "What does the arrival of the *Baltimore* in the harbor of Valparaiso mean? It means just this, that *without any orders from the home Government, without any orders from anybody else*, the regulations are well established as to our duties as naval officers. The magnificent stand that has been taken by this Administration in regard to the affair of the killing of that Mexican on board the Pacific Mail steamer has caused great joy in the navy. That is what we want. We want to be able to say, 'You go just so far and you will come to grief,' and the time has come when a naval officer can say it.
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> "In regard to our rights of action in emergencies which may arise, I don't suppose there will be any question hereafter as to just the extent to which a man can go. *Heretofore there always has been, and now, to be sure, there will be, constant consultation with the civil authorities — the Consul and the Minister in command*; but I fancy there is nobody in the United States Navy to-day who doesn't feel that if he was called upon to act he would act if the Minister did not act."

If a Prussian cavalry colonel talked in this way at a Berlin dinner, big a man as he is, what a wigging he would get! But the head of every youngster in our navy is probably filled with just such stuff, and his superiors have put it there and are keeping it there. Our State Department has been practically abolished, and its Manuals of Instruction and the text-books on International Law are being used as fuel to get up steam. What a situation for the country of Webster and Lincoln and Seward and Marcy and Fish and Evarts!

POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS.

AGITATION in favor of a constitutional amendment to this end, begun by several State Legislatures during the past year, was renewed on Saturday before the appropriate committee of the House of Representatives. Every thoughtful mind must welcome the least sign of revolt against the present composition and disgraceful tendency of the United States Senate. The election to that body of Gov. Hill, the Demo-

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cratic boss of New York; the bare defeat of Foraker, the Republican boss of Ohio; the arts to which Senator Sherman was forced to resort in order to save his seat from political brigandage; the motives which led to the election of his new colleague—these recent events have stimulated the growing sense of a vital defect in the Senate-making machinery. It is as yet but a vague and unreflecting sense, that does not perceive the root of the evil, and it is in danger of precipitate action that will breed fresh abuses; but the unrest is wholesome. Once more an idol of the Constitution is challenged, and men are not afraid to think and to say openly that the work of the fathers must be undone or done over in the interest of government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The change proposed is so momentous that it is no exaggeration to affirm that it outweighs in importance the burning questions of the tariff and the coinage. These are mere questions of housekeeping, which, however they may be decided, leave the fabric of 1787 untouched. To take from the Legislatures the choice of Senators is to revert to one of the plans rejected in the Constitutional Convention, and to embark on a fresh voyage of experiment. It at once alters fundamentally the relation of the States to the Federal Union by making the party complexion of the State Legislatures a matter of no consequence whatever in Federal politics, so far as concerns the control of Congress. We hasten to declare that this would be a great boon to the citizens of the States and to the people at large—perhaps the greatest that has ever been rendered by any constitutional amendment save that prohibiting slavery. It would aim a well-nigh fatal blow at the identification of State with Federal party lines and party organization which the fathers unwittingly ordained when they made the Senate the creature of the Legislatures. Never again would the voter be called upon to sacrifice his scruples respecting local measures or men, on the ground that the party ascendancy in Congress depended on returning a Legislature which would maintain the party strength in the Federal Senate. This freedom once acquired, we cannot doubt that our municipal life would immensely profit by it; that municipal (and State) contests would tend more and more to emancipate themselves from every other consideration save the genuine issue; and that more and more independence and fluidity would be manifested in forming parties *ad hoc*, irrespective of names and affiliations applicable to Federal party organizations. Surely, to bring about such a consummation, much may be hazarded.

Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten on the very road to real, away from sham, politics, that to bestow on the people the election of Senators by Constitutional enactment is not the same thing as to insure their possessing it. Men look at the obvious grasp of the machine on nearly all our legislatures—its potential grasp on all—and conclude it would be a fine stroke to take away its occupation. They need to be reminded that the greatest victim of the machine, the almost helpless victim, is not the Legislature, but the people itself. By an unconscious juggle in terms, election is assumed to be synonymous with choice; it is in fact a mere registering of the decree of the caucus and the machine. The average honest voter goes to the polls without having had the smallest part in *nominating* the candidates for whom he votes. He does not know them personally, he may never have heard their names; until recently, on leaving the booth, he could not repeat the list he had just deposited in the ballot box, and on the morrow he might have forgotten all that he brought away. The Australian ballot has to some extent altered this state of affairs, and one of its highest merits is that it enables the people really to put in nomination as well as to pass upon the cut-and-dried. It alone, of our present safeguards, would prevent the election of Senators by the people from being manipulated by the machine as readily as that of Representatives.

To our minds, there is small chance of the proposed amendment being carried, especially if it is complicated (as is proposed by one Congressman) with a scheme for enlarging the Senate and thus overcoming the inequitable equality of the small States. Moreover, an opportunity is afforded to better our existing condition by simply giving back to the States the power to regulate the election of Senators—that is, by repealing the act of July 25, 1866, the first of its kind, "to regulate the times and manner of holding elections for Senators of Congress," with its pernicious enforcement of viva-voce voting, most favorable to party pressure and bribery. Senator Sherman himself opposed it on its passage, as did Senators Fessenden and Edmunds, and their objections have been sustained by the results of experience. A writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* for August last propounded a plan of election by the Legislature as required by the Constitution, out of nominations by the people—a restriction which may or may not be constitutional, but which it would be worth the while of any State to test the legality of. To evade the machine and the lobby, the same writer urged making use of the Australian ballot both for these nominations and for the legislative vote upon them—a procedure certainly presenting no difficulty. He argued that this system, if established, would enable capable men to put themselves in nomination without being indecently beholden to any body or interest. We observe that a member of the House Committee at the hearing on Saturday asked "if popular elections might not result in sending less able men to the Senate, and if the present method did not secure the services of men of ability who, perhaps, could not be induced to take part in a political contest such as was incident to elections." Undoubtedly they might, if the machine were left free to manage the "popular elections"; quite otherwise if the people could really send up a list of candidates, each name representing a considerable body of voters, such as would entitle it to a place on the official Australian ballot. "A man," says the *Atlantic* writer referred to, "fit to be Senator would have a decided prestige when proposed in this manner as against the product of intrigue and jobbery. Such men would tend to multiply in the popular nominations, inasmuch as they could allow their names to be used without loss of self-respect, and with no obligation to work in their own behalf."

By whatever mode to be accomplished, the question presses, how to make the Senate the Broad Stone of Honor of our American commonwealth—a body no longer, to be sure, "the camp of slaves," as in the unhappy days of doughfaces and lords of the lash, but a chapel of ease for millionaires, a baron's castle for the spoilsman, an altar of refuge for Quay, a legitimate goal of ambition for Hill and Foraker.

THE OBJECTIONS TO CHEATING.

THERE is in Nebraska to-day a Governor who, though legally, is not morally entitled to the place. The same thing is true of Connecticut: there is also a Governor in the latter State who, though legally, is not morally entitled to his place. Each owes his office to the determination of his party supporters to get as much power as they can, no matter what their opponents think of the fairness of their procedure. The New York Legislature is Democratic owing to the disregard of the law by Democratic officials in the mode of conducting the election, under the encouragement and with the assistance of the Governor of the State, who actually went so far as to resist the courts and denounce them for interfering with his schemes. This was a step beyond anything which has occurred in Nebraska and Connecticut. In their cases the law was used to deprive the voters of their rights in the forum of abstract justice. In this State the law has been openly violated to deprive them of both their legal and moral rights. Now that the Legislature has met, the power of passing on the qualifications of members is being used by the majority in the same spirit and under the same inspiration to deprive duly elected members of their seats, on any pretence, however trivial.

It must be admitted, however, that Hill did not originate the spirit of lawlessness from which all these displays of contempt for the rights of minorities have flowed. Their true source is to be found in the view which the Republicans took of the Democrats at the close of the war—as dangerous persons who, if they got control of the Government, would proba-

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bly wreck it. This led to the desperate and successful attempt to cheat Tilden out of the Presidency, and to the great hesitation, lasting nearly twelve days, on the part of the Republicans in admitting Cleveland's election. It is not too much to say that during the whole of that period the Republican leaders had a vague expectation that something, whether legal, extra-legal, or illegal, would turn up which would enable them to get Blaine into the Presidency. The same feeling which led them to consider the Democrats unfit to conduct the Government made them indifferent to choice of means for keeping them out of control of it. This also undoubtedly accounts in part for the extraordinary manner in which Mr. Reed filled the office of Speaker, and for his high-handed contempt for the right of the Democratic minority—something entirely novel in the parliamentary annals of really constitutional countries. He made himself, instead of an Anglo-Saxon Speaker, a French President of the Imperial period, like Rouher or De Morny.

We might multiply these illustrations, if we had space, by citing such cases as the denial of the Governor's power of appointment in this State through the refusal of the Republican Senate to confirm his nominations, thus enabling Platt's Quarantine Commissioners to hold over for years. The great apparent increase just now of these displays of contempt for the law is due in large part to the fact that the Democrats, as they creep into power all over the country, are beginning to retaliate in kind on the Republicans by vigorous cheating. The impression which these things are producing, both at home and abroad, is an impression of rapidly spreading political rottenness, the outcome of which nobody can predict; and the abounding material prosperity does nothing to diminish or destroy it. The chief danger of the situation, however, lies in the fact that it is distinctly revolutionary. People can stand a long while, and very good-humoredly, gross cheating or corruption at the polls, but, for some reason or other, they will not stand frauds in the counts or in any other part of the procedure which directly inducts a man into an office. Whenever these become so numerous that there is general doubt whether the man who has clearly won an office at the polls will be able to occupy it, civil war is not far off. The concoctors of such frauds grow bolder and bolder with impunity, and some day, when a Secretary of State abstracts or suppresses a genuine return and produces a fraudulent one, somebody who feels aggrieved will take him by the throat and search him, and then the mischief is afoot. The evil may go far in this country before producing an outbreak, because people are so busy and prosperous, so long as security to life and property is not impaired; but there is a limit to the patience even of the happy and good-humored, and it may be reached sooner than is expected, as the Southern slaveholders found to their cost.

It is therefore high time for both parties to mend their manners, before the whole country gets into the way of expecting to be cheated, or of relying on cheating in order to reach even desirable ends. The admiration of Hill, for instance, as a man who "gets there" is a highly explosive material. The "art of ultimate arrival," as some one has called it, is a very good art to cultivate, but it has to be cultivated with scruple and moderation. People like to see a man "get there," but they do not tolerate his travelling at their expense, with stolen money. Popular government does not rest simply on majority rule. It rests just as much on the acquiescence of the minority in that rule, on the general belief of the minority that it *is* really a minority, and fully enjoys the rights guaranteed to it by the organic law.

THE INTER-STATE COMMISSION AND THE COURTS.

In the Lehigh Valley Railroad case, the United States Circuit Court in Philadelphia decides that no injunction can issue against that company for disregarding an order of the Inter-State Commission, but that practically the whole matter must be retried by that court. The decision is based on the ground that the findings of the Inter-State Commission are only *prima-facie* evidence, and that this, as defined in the act to regulate commerce, means a trial of the whole issue *de novo* when a United States court is asked to enforce the Commission's decree. The same construction was put upon the Inter-State Law a year or more ago, in Cincinnati, in the party-rate case before Judge Jackson. Indeed, the unpleasant position of the Commission—that of a sort of referee, merely—was clearly seen and ably considered by Judge Cooley in the Commission's annual report to Congress for 1890. It was forcibly urged upon Congress that controversies about railway rates were questions of fact and not of law, involving many complicated matters which none but specialists could properly investigate, and which no court of law could fairly be asked to decide. Hence the findings of fact by a body of specialists like the Commission should be accepted by the courts, the only question left open being whether the forms of law had been observed.

To remedy the Commission's complaint about inadequate power, Senator Cullom, on December 15 ult., introduced a bill which seems to have escaped public attention. This bill provides that upon appeal by the Commission for an injunction or mandamus to a United States court, the defence of the railway shall be restricted to pointing out errors in the findings or proceedings by the Commission. The Court may refer the case back to the Commission for a retrial, or may issue the writ, but cannot itself retry the case. That this would much increase the power of the Commission over railway charges is easily apparent; in fact, the position of the Commission would be that of an inferior United States Court. It might be a question whether this would be a violation of the Constitution, which requires judicial questions to be determined by judges holding office during good behavior; though the courts generally are willing to give Congress every possible chance to carry out its legislative intentions. But it would seem, whatever the machinery authorized by Congress, that railway rates in the end must be settled as a judicial question. This is apparently the meaning of the Supreme Court decision in the Minnesota cases, where an unreasonable rate imposed by a railroad commission was declared to be equivalent to the taking of private property without compensation. Evidently, though, the injustice done by a Legislature or by a railroad commission would have to be very clear to call out that remedy.

The restiveness of the Inter-State Commerce Commission under the law which makes its decisions *prima-facie* evidence only, and not conclusive, can be traced in part to a change in the Commission's ideas about its own importance and the place it was intended to fill in our regulation of railways. In the early years the Commissioners took a more humble view of their duties; their first reports express the opinion that adjustment of existing discriminations was their principal duty, not the fixing of rates *per se;* that they were to regulate tariffs originated by the railways. Lately the idea seems to have been growing in their minds that they were in some way responsible to the people for our whole system of transportation and charges. In 1890 they attempted to say what the rates on corn should be, not relatively but absolutely. Not long ago they told some Southern roads that only so much must be charged on all the oranges carried. This is not regulation, which is adjustment; it is the imposition of tariffs on carriers. The Inter-State Act says that all rates must be reasonable; but reasonableness, economically if not legally, is a relative question. To say whether 10 cents or 25 cents or 50 cents ought to be charged on breadstuffs from Chicago to New York is a commercial problem which cannot be determined theoretically any more easily than can the proper price for meat. But given the rate as decided upon by the railway managers, it becomes competent for the Commission to declare that all shall be charged the one rate without unjust discrimination as to persons or places. If we admit that the Commission must or can fix our railway tariffs in the abstract, we take a long step towards Government ownership.

The Commission's restiveness, therefore, is due in part to their opinion upon this question: whether we ought to intrust such a vast problem entirely to their hands, or whether we shall go far enough if we make the Commission merely the mouth-

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piece of public opinion. It can indeed hardly be said that we have solved the question. We know that our most successful State railroad commissions were formed on the latter theory and have no real power. The first of this class was that of Massachusetts, organized in 1869. The Commissioners selected were able men, and their opinions on questions in dispute between Massachusetts railways and citizens were received with respect by both parties, though they could not be enforced; but, being recognized as voicing public sentiment, the carriers generally yielded to them. But the United States is larger than any one State, so that it is undoubtedly more difficult for public opinion to force obedience to a Federal than to a State commission. Yet, on the other hand, there is so much necessary work to be done on the simple lines of the original intention, that the question of additional power over tariffs in the abstract may well be left to the future. Personal discrimination yet flourishes. One road lost its traffic manager because of rate-cutting. Three more were accused of the same offence by their own associations at the recent meeting of the Advisory Board. This advantage of one firm over another through the cutting of rates is demoralizing to all honest merchants. We might better amend the Inter-State Law in some way which would secure fair treatment to all shippers (for even railroad managers do not defend rebates) than to give more theoretic powers to a commission which, under the law as it stands, seems helpless before the simpler and more important evil. In the Lehigh Valley case justice seems on the side of the original complainant, and a further investigation before the Circuit Court ought to bring it out more clearly.

THE SCALING OF THE URUGUAYAN DEBT.

SOME months ago we spoke of the effort to arrange a compromise between Uruguay and her foreign creditors. The scheme then in contemplation has now been carried into execution, with all its principal features unchanged, and it deserves a review not only on account of its own importance, but especially because of its ominous significance as an example to other countries situated as Uruguay is.

The origin and course of the negotiations leading up to the final result were described by the Minister of Finance in the course of a speech before the Uruguayan Congress. He said that as far back as May of last year the President had sounded the Government's financial agent in London as to the possibility of making some new adjustment of the national debt, "based on the reciprocal interest of the State and its foreign creditors." At the same time, the President affirmed that "the Government believes that it holds sufficient resources to realize its firm proposition to comply faithfully with all foreign obligations, even at the cost of the greatest sacrifices, as it has hitherto done." In the latter part of June a special agent was sent to London from Montevideo to push the negotiations, his instructions being to propose a unification of all foreign loans into a new issue bearing interest at 4 per cent. for the first five years, 4½ for the next five, and 5 afterwards.

But this agent, Señor Ellauri, had scarcely reached London when the financial crash came upon Uruguay which closed the English and National Banks and struck all business with paralysis. Thereupon the Government peremptorily notified its English creditors that it could pay no interest for at least six months, and that a greater and permanent reduction of its foreign indebtedness was absolutely necessary. It was in the face of this statement that the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders took up the matter. This Corporation is an organization formed some twenty years ago to represent the holders of bonds of foreign countries. It has had a remarkable history in arranging and settling the debts of many defaulting States, and has accumulated a large capital, by means of commissions and in other ways, which it can draw upon to meet the preliminary outlays involved in negotiations with foreign governments. Its members are usually men of high financial and personal standing, Sir John Lubbock being the present Chairman, and Sir Edward Thornton being at the head of the committee appointed to deal with the Uruguayan case.

The arrangement which was agreed upon between the Corporation and the agent of Uruguay, and which has now been given the force of law, embraced the following particulars: A new consolidated debt is to be funded to the amount of $96,350,000, bearing interest at the rate of 3½ per cent. It is to include $49,934,680 of the Unified Loan of 1885, which bore 5 per cent. interest, $19,363,530 of the 6 per cent. loan of 1888, $9,306,000 of the 6 per cent. loan of 1890, $2,866,953 to be issued to holders of the bonds of the two last-mentioned loans as "compensation" for accepting a lower rate of interest, $3,744,090 in payment of arrears of interest, $2,975,000 to meet railway guarantees now due, $5,640,000 to complete the building of the Western Railway, and $2,519,646 as costs and commissions on the entire refunding operation. This last item was the subject of severe criticism in the course of the debate in Congress, one member calling it "an infamous robbery of the nation." The Finance Minister mildly defended it, although he refused to give the details of the expenses, or to say to whom the commissions were to be paid. The Government pledges 45 per cent. of the customs revenue, to be turned over daily to the English Bank, as security for the payment of interest.

The arrangement did not go through without vigorous protests on the part of many bondholders. Delegations and remonstrances from Antwerp and Paris and Madrid kept the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders informed of the indignation which their negotiations were arousing, but they went steadily ahead and secured the assent of a majority of bondholders. The minority still threaten to fight for their rights in the courts, but it is doubtful if they can accomplish anything. One of the most scandalous features of the affair is the inclusion of the loan of 1890 in the arrangement. This was an issue of bonds to the amount of $10,000,000 left on the Barings' hands when they went into liquidation. They had accepted them in return for private advances to Uruguay, and had been unable to sell a dollar's worth. It has been stated, we believe with truth, that the Barings themselves were unwilling that this loan of their own, which they had been unable to float, should be given the same standing as bonds bought in good faith by investors; but those who are now managing their affairs thought differently. The result is to give their bonds a value and a security far beyond what they might claim, and to do it at the expense of other bondholders.

It is undoubted that Uruguay's creditors have acted in what they thought was the wisest and safest way, accepting a reduced but certain interest in lieu of a larger but precarious if not impossible rate. Yet their action cannot fail to be disastrous in its indirect results. It is not even certain that they are safely secured in their lowered interest. One Uruguayan Deputy made a forcible argument to show that the Government could not meet even its reduced obligations. As to that we cannot say, but what is certain is that the whole operation has distinctly relaxed the idea of the binding nature of a national debt. This has clearly been the effect in Uruguay itself, and the influence of her example upon other South American countries cannot fail to be bad. One Senator argued for fixing the rate of interest at 2½ per cent. instead of 3½, which he thought they might as well do while they were about it. The demoralization wrought in the sense of public honor is well shown by the Montevideo *Times*, which said in its issue of September 23:

> "One of the first things to strike any one who has followed the criticisms and debates on the Consolidated Debt Bill must be the extraordinary conceptions held concerning such foreign obligations as debt services or railway guarantees. So far from being looked upon as sacred obligations which it is dishonorable to violate, it is evident that there are not a few persons here, and persons in high position too, who regard them as something tiresome which may or may not be complied with, according to the good-will and position of the debtor. They virtually say to the creditors: 'We have promised you 6 per cent. or 5 per cent., but we have been foolish and extravagant, and cannot conveniently pay you. No matter, we will condescend to give you 3½ per cent., or if that does not suit us, we will make it 2½ per cent. Really, it is a great nuisance having to pay you at all, and your claims are a burden which we are anxious to get rid of as soon as possible.'"

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THE ST. ELIAS GLACIAL FIELDS.

OBERLIN, January 7, 1892.

AT the recent meeting of the Geological Society of America, two members of the United States Geological Survey gave reports upon expeditions made by them last summer through unexplored territory in southern Alaska. The results of the expeditions are as interesting to the general reader as they are instructive from a geological point of view.

Mr. C. W. Hayes was sent by the Survey to accompany Lieut. Schwatka in a trip undertaken by him in the interests of a syndicate of Western newspapers. They entered the southeastern portion of the Territory from Juneau, through Taku Inlet, and, after ascending rapidly to the summit of the pass, reached the broad glaciated plateau running north and south, which was partially explored many years ago by the Western Union Telegraph Company, when, before the Atlantic cable was laid, they contemplated an overland route to Europe by way of Bering Strait and Siberia. For many hundred miles just east of the coast range, this plateau, walled in on two sides by mountain ranges of moderate height, is a striking feature of the country, and furnishes the head waters of the Yukon River. Though now free from ice, it bears every mark of having been formerly a centre from which glaciers debouched both into the sea and into the Yukon Valley for a distance of about three hundred miles, where a well-marked terminal moraine is reported as crossing it from east to west. Between this moraine and Fort Selkirk, a distance of about one hundred miles, there are no further marks of glacial action.

From Fort Selkirk the party struck across the country directly west to intercept the White River, which rises about half way between Mt. St. Elias and Mt. Wrangell—the latter being an active volcano. The whole of this distance was in an unglaciated region, showing that there has always been a remarkable limitation to the ice-fields on the northern side of the St. Elias range. But it would appear, from the results of this expedition and from earlier reports both of Mr. Dall concerning Kotzebue Sound and of Mr. Russell concerning the Yukon Valley, that, while the main body of Alaska was never covered with moving ice, it is, even yet, for the most part covered with stationary ice, which in many areas takes the place of underlying rock, and carries soil enough upon its surface to maintain in many places a vigorous arctic vegetation. The banks of the Yukon present occasional precipices of solid ice surmounted by soil and timber precisely as though it were some hard, sedimentary rock. The short hot summer suffices to warm the surface soil and quicken a variety of plants and trees into rapid growth, without producing any effect upon the frozen stratum a few inches below. The deep moss which covers everything persistently retains the water, compelling the traveller to wade continually in discomfort through its spongy mass, though the climate is so arid that for six weeks together no storms were encountered, and the air was so clear that sleep was obtained under the open sky without once going through the formality of pitching a tent.

But, meanwhile, Mr. Russell's party were having very different experiences upon the southern flanks of the St. Elias range, where, for days and days, they were waiting, amid blinding snows, for a rift of fair weather in which to attempt the final ascent of the solitary peak. The amount of snow which falls upon these névé fields which feed the great glaciers flowing down to the Pacific Ocean is something perfectly enormous. A single fall of six feet of solid spicules of ice which, when compressed, would make half that thickness of glacier ice, is by no means uncommon; while, by examination of the films of dust which separate the snowfall of successive storms, Mr. Russell is confident that sometimes as much as 100 feet of snow descends without interruption. In view of such facts, it is easy to understand the reason why the southern flanks of this great Alaskan range so abound with glaciers, while the northern side is comparatively free from them. It is becoming more and more clear that the cause of great accumulations of glacial ice, both past and present, is to be sought not simply in a low temperature, but in a combination of conditions which secure an abnormal precipitation of snow over any particular area. The average temperature upon the south side of the St. Elias Alps is considerably higher than that upon the north side; but the glaciers are many times as large, the main difference being in the amount of snowfall.

The most instructive portion of Mr. Russell's observations relates to the condition of the great Malaspina Glacier, or ice-field, which covers about 1,500 square miles of the level country intervening between the base of the mountains and the Pacific Ocean. This great mass of ice is from 1,500 to 2,000 feet thick, and is but a remnant, though, it must be confessed, a very respectable remnant, of the ice-fields of former days, whose bold front extended into the sea for hundreds of miles along the shore. In its present condition it furnishes probably the best object-lesson which has yet been brought within the reach of glacialists. Here we can see in progress upon a grand scale all those operations which have produced the phenomena so characteristic of the glaciated area in Europe and throughout British America and the northern part of the United States.

The surface of this great ice-field resembles that of a rolling prairie. About the margin next to the mountain it is deeply covered with earthy débris, and, except where the glacial tributaries directly join the mass, stands considerably lower than the centre, owing to the radiant heat of the mountain side, which causes it there to waste away with exceptional rapidity. Along this natural channel, between the ice and the mountain, temporary water courses take their way, distributing the morainic material in long lines, which, as the level of the ice gradually lowers during successive decades or centuries, become a series of beachlike terraces, such as, about the Adirondack Mountains and other places, have often deceived observers, and led them to infer a subsidence in the country and the formation of sea-beaches at high elevations, where everything originated through the simple processes connected with the wasting away of the great ice-field itself.

But most interesting of all was the outer margin of the Malaspina Glacier. For a long distance on its southwestern border the ice debouches directly into the sea, breaking off into icebergs with thundering noises, after the manner so vividly described by Vancouver a hundred years ago. The eastern half of the glacier exhibits a wasting front some little distance back of the sea, where a terminal moraine of great size and intricate complication is in process of formation. In the course of centuries the earthy débris thinly distributed through the glacier has been brought to the front, and, as the edge has melted away, has settled down in great depth over a thin margin of ice several miles in width. Upon this incipient moraine, with the ice still remaining underneath it, vegetation has rapidly advanced, until now it is covered with a dense pine forest containing trees as much as three feet in diameter, and the whole area is so tangled with underbrush and flowering plants that it is almost impossible to work one's way across it. Through these forests the ever-changing sub-glacial streams cut their way, and here and there submerge and bury them beneath their rapidly accumulating sediment.

Far up on the surface of the great ice-sheet, also, but in nearer proximity to the mountain, may be found extensive areas of morainic débris covered with vegetation. These long protect the ice underneath them from melting, and stand as promontories above the general level. As the wasting process, however, goes on in the clearer ice around them, they at length slide down in mixed heaps around the bottom of their pedestal, to repeat the process of protecting awhile their new foundations. At length, if the ice entirely disappears, these will rest upon the surface of the earth in a confused mass well calculated to give endless perplexity to the glacialist who shall attempt to unravel their full meaning. It is clear that these observations of Mr. Russell's sweep away at one stroke a great body of speculation concerning successive glacial epochs and repeated changes of level which has seemed to be necessary to account for the buried forests and apparent sea-beaches so often encountered in the glaciated area. When the facts are placed before our very eyes, it seems strange that we had not sooner worked out the problem from the simple elements of the case; for ice is such a complex cause, being at one moment a rock, and the next a fluid, and the next a gas, that, without doing violence to the known nature of the cause, the widest range of phenomena can properly be attributed to it.

At first it seems singular that we should have remained so long comparatively ignorant of this portion of the North American coast. Mount St. Elias still defies the attempts which have been made to scale its summit. For the second time, even Mr. Russell has been compelled to give up the attempt. For a hundred years, also, unsatisfactory efforts have been made to ascertain the exact height of the peak. This is now found to be 18,100 feet. Upon the last attempt to reach that height the party struggled for twenty hours from their permanent camp at 8,000 feet, but attained an elevation of only 14,500 feet. Doubtless they could have reached the summit had they continued to press on, but it is equally certain that they never could have returned, and their discretion was clearly the better part of valor.

The reason why so little has been added to our knowledge of this region during the past one hundred years is the lack of motive urging to its exploration. Near the close of the last century the waters of this part of the Pacific fairly swarmed with adventurous navigators fitted out by various nations of Europe to find the Northwest Passage. Of some one or other of these, almost all the great natural features of the country bear witness in the names by which they are still designated. We have Cook's Inlet, Dixon's Entrance, Vancouver's Island, Puget Sound, the lofty peaks of Crillon and La Pérouse, and, last but not least, the great Malaspina Glacier. At the present time the only motives leading to this desolate region are those of science and adventure. Annually for the past six years some lone Government vessel has carried a party to Yakutat Bay in the early part of summer, and returned for them after the lapse of three or four months.

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In consequence of these visits a whole galaxy of glaciers now bear the names of distinguished scientific men of the present generation. Yet the work of careful exploration has but just begun, and it is science and not pleasure or mammon that must complete the promising and noble work.

G. Frederick Wright.

COMMON SENSE IN NATIONAL ART GALLERIES.—I.

London, January, 1892.

It is fortunate that an occasional public function, such as the opening of the new Museum at Vienna, calls special attention to national art collections, since at other times existing conditions are accepted with the childlike, unquestioning faith which religion has long since ceased to inspire. I have been struck with this during late visits to Berlin, Dresden, and Munich.

It is natural that the public, with absolutely no knowledge of art and with no original ideas on the subject, should accept Baedeker, or at the best Crowe and Cavalcaselle, as infallible gospel. It would be amusing to take the man who, as a child, had never been allowed to look at a picture—like the proverbial youth brought up without religion—and suddenly let him loose in a gallery of old masters. The result would be of no practical value to the artist, but it might help to show the absurdity of modern art superstitions. As it is, professional art critics, or their students, would learn much if they followed an artist through galleries to them as sacred as St. Peter's to pious Catholics or the Mosque of St. Sophia to devout Mohammedans, and saw his utter indifference to the objects of their deepest reverence, and his raptures over canvases which they had passed without a thrill. To cast aside lightly the accepted traditions of centuries is folly, but it is far more preposterous to give up all right to private judgment when once the threshold of a picture gallery has been crossed. The protestant in art, as in religion, is a necessary quantity. It is as impossible for the lover of art to enjoy all the pictures which have survived their generation as it would be for the lover of literature to read with pleasure all the publications hidden away in the fastnesses of the British Museum. To the unprejudiced, some of the most salient features of the great European galleries are those unrecorded in guide-books and art compilations.

This is especially true of the Dresden Gallery, of which the reverent speak with a trifle more awe and respect, perhaps, than of any other in Europe—a fact not to be wondered at. There is, to begin with, a charm about Dresden itself which at once puts one out of the humor of cavilling and fault-finding. After passing through Berlin or Munich or the other large German cities, it is refreshing to come to a place as full of character as the Saxon capital; and the characteristic centre of this characteristic town is the Zwinger, with its eighteenth-century graceful affectations and rococo classicism. For those who can enjoy architecture artistically, just as they would painting, there is nothing more amusing than a good example of rococo, which it has become the correct fad to depreciate. Always delightful, the Zwinger is doubly so in summer, the tourist's season, when the central court or garden is full of flowers. The galleries themselves are no less delightful. The rooms are airy and spacious. Here I do not include the little cabinets, which are a weariness to the flesh; there is no more depressing experience than to stand in the room of the Holbein Madonna, and look down the long passageway leading by these cabinets, and feel that one is obliged to enter each by turn. The light, too, is good throughout, except in some of the lower galleries, which, save for very notable exceptions, seem to serve the purpose of waste picture baskets. And the decorative scheme is excellent; the chances are you come away without having noticed the color of the walls or the motive of the decorations. This is no small matter. Indeed, the importance of the treatment of the picture's background—simply because to be successful it must not distract attention from the pictures themselves—is not realized until this first principle of success is violated, as in the new gallery of Vienna.

The general system adopted in the arrangement of the pictures is also a credit to the directors. They are fairly well hung according to their schools and dates, which is not only a concession to the student, who studies them from the historical standpoint, but a help to the artist, who wants to know where to look for the painters who interest him. The overflow of the smaller canvases into the cabinets, however, is bewildering, since few of these open directly into the corresponding large galleries; the chances are that Italian primitives are not discovered until long after sixteenth-century Venetians and Bolognese have been seen, while the work of Dutchmen and Flemings who happen to have painted both small and large canvases, Rembrandt and Rubens, for example, is as scattered as that of the exhibitor in the average modern show. The hanging of the pictures is far less satisfactory. Piled one above the other, the effect of the walls is as distracting and wearying as in the Salon, and this could be easily avoided were a little more judgment shown in the selection, purchase, and preservation of work included in the collection.

That there are pictures worthy of the gallery built for them, the most inveterate enemy of "cock-eyed Madonnas" and of everything not essentially modern would be slow to deny. That there are others worthier of the bonfire—or at best of the obscurity of a Bloomsbury lodging-house—only the hopelessly enthusiastic would not admit. If the most needed reform in the exhibition of contemporary work is a hanging committee who will reject all artless and worthless canvases, despite the popularity of the names signed to them, so the national galleries of old masters call for the vigorous reformer with courage to throw out the failures of the great painter and the trivialities of the minor craftsman, no matter in what remote century they were produced. At Dresden the work which would pass the impartial hanging committee of all the world and all time would form a collection as invaluable to the student as it might seem insignificant in number to the tourist who prefers quantity to quality; but many of the accepted would not be pictures which now give the gallery its reputation. Were it not for the undue virtue attributed to quantity, acres of fair and flamboyant ladies, overfed and flabby men and pudgy babies, colossal witnesses of the fertility of Rubens's workshop, would be banished without compunction, though there would be always space and to spare for such proofs of his own genius, convincing if less conspicuous, as his sketches, dismissed in a few words by the catalogue as "studio work." And it would be far wiser cheerfully to accept the fact that the Italian schools are better represented elsewhere than to encumber walls, already overcrowded, not merely with many second-rate pictures by Italian painters, but with second-rate copies of others, and hopelessly restored canvases, not worth the restoration, like the big Correggios. Baedeker, in a burst of grandiloquent enthusiasm, extols the latter for their flower-like tinting, but, combined, they have not the value of one square inch of the little Magdalen, said by critics, with their usual perspicacity, not to be the work of Correggio because it is painted on copper, which was not used for that purpose in his day; that he might by chance have tried the experiment, seems never to have occurred to them. According to the same argument, Dürer never etched, Prince Rupert never made mezzotints. But this is a fair specimen of the critical argument upon which the "schoolmarm" of the west of America and the intense young person of the East of London thrive.

The Italian rooms might with advantage be reduced to one large enough to include a few of the primitives; the two exquisite Palma Vecchios (those three fair, florid "Fates," in their luxuriant beauty, and the "Marriage of Jacob and Rachel," so obviously composed, and for that very reason so decorative); one Titian, the "Tribute Money," the others being but melancholy proofs of what very bad work a great man could sometimes turn out; one or two Tintorettos, and as many of Veronese's lavish arrangements of brocades and satins; the famous Raphael, and, if a corner here and there were still left, perhaps others, too good to perish altogether, might be picked out. In the cabinets, bushels of Flemish and Dutch pictures might be thrown away and no one lose thereby. Among them are little masterpieces, of course—the Cranachs and Dürers, the Ter Borchs, and more than can be enumerated here. But who, save the Baedeker or Crowe and Cavalcaselle fanatic, will not own that he is bored to death by the tons of Teniers, whose one merit is the superabundance of detail, which make good "copy" for art historian and compiler; of Wouvermanns, when two or three would have more than sufficed; of bad Ruysdaels, which can but blind one to the few fine examples of the same artist; of so many others by men whose names are practically forgotten? It is useless, too, to hang by the dozen the tiny Gerard Douws and Gabriel Metsus and Kaspar Netschers, when only by looking at each apart and through a microscope can the infinite labor and patience devoted to it be appreciated, even while one wonders if this labor, this patience, be really art. More useless still is it, for the sake of covering the walls, to devote two or three small rooms to the commonplace productions of Dietrich, who is unknown outside of Dresden, and by rights should never have been heard of there, or to spare only less space to a man like Crispi, though in comparison he seems a master. The same indifference to quality is the rule in the pastel galleries. In one the old work but proves how much better the moderns understand the art, though Wauters is the one modern represented; in the other, all the bewigged fine ladies and gentlemen might disappear so long as Meng's and Liotard's work remained, so long as one could see how astonishingly clever and modern in treatment and feeling is the original of the poor "Chocolate Girl," caricatured in countless chromos and advertisements.

A more serious mistake in the hanging, showing as it does the directors' acceptance of the popular rather than the artistic standard, is the uncalled-for prominence given to certain pictures, the comparative obscurity reserved for others of greater importance if of less notoriety.

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The most glaring instance is the setting aside of a special shrine for the Sistine Madonna, a remarkably fine Raphael, it is true, making the £70,000 paid by the English Government for the Blenheim picture still more unpardonable, but with its sentimental little angels, its claptrap device of drawn curtain, and its obvious catering to the public for whom it was produced, not to be mentioned in the same breath with that artistic triumph the Holbein Madonna, which, authorities say, Holbein never painted. Great work asserts itself without the help of sensational devices. What need of a separate room to emphasize the power of Velasquez in his two Spanish courtiers, both elderly and gray-haired, both in black with white about their necks, and yet each so wholly and entirely distinct in character that by contrast with them portraits by Rubens and Van Dyck in the same gallery seem lifeless and mannered, though these masters have seldom asserted their own individuality so successfully, seldom managed so well to forget the conventions which ruled them when they turned out their huge pot-boilers—the St. Jeromes, for example? That those two conventional saints, with their conventional lions, set in conventional landscapes, with such fidelity to current conventional methods, should be hung side by side, in all seriousness, is the best proof of the absurdity of the modern superstitious reverence for names which passes for appreciation of art. One could imagine a Carolus Duran and a Besnard or a Sir Frederick Leighton and a Whistler, with the same composition, producing results so positively unlike that the distinction and individuality of technique would give originality to the scheme as well. But not so with Rubens and Van Dyck when pot-boiling; at a glance their two compositions are identically the same, but Van Dyck, by a great stretch of imagination, has put the lion to St. Jerome's right, the book at his feet, placed the saint on a lowly seat, and carried a bit of black drapery across the canvas, while Rubens keeps the lion to the left, elevates the stone seat, spreads the book open on a table of rock, and omits the drapery—and this is all. Why, simply because the pictures are in the Dresden Gallery, should we be forced to think them great? Because they are painted by eminent men, they may have a certain negative interest, but their place, if they must be given a place, is in a museum of history, not of art.

While good work will assert itself when seen, owing to the vagaries of directors it may be hung practically out of sight. This is the case with Rembrandt's little "Saskia," in hat and feather, though it is far finer than the more talked about "Saskia" sitting on the painter's knee, and the "Crucifixion," both marked with stars in the well-appointed guide-book. Equal want of discrimination is shown in the hanging of Christopher Pauditz's three clever portraits in which he curiously anticipated Carrière, and which are the greatest surprise Dresden has in store for the artist; of Cranach's extraordinary little portrait of Melanchthon on his death-bed, with white beard, in white robes, against the white background, the ingenious forerunner of innumerable other death-beds, first communicants, and gentlemen in tennis flannels which have haunted Salon and Royal Academy for some years past; of Ter Borch's little interiors, Whistlerian as if the master himself had painted them; of too many others to be specified here.

Dresden possesses many masterpieces unrivalled elsewhere; it is rich in pictures like those of Pauditz and Ter Borch and Cranach, of special interest to the artist in their anticipation of modern problems and methods; it gives an unparalleled opportunity for the study of men like Ribera and Canaletto, who, great at their best (Ribera in that beautiful golden "Magdalen," Canaletto in his Pirnas), were full of mannerisms, with the one degenerating into mere theatrical commonplace, with the other into dull conventionality, by which, unfortunately, they are best known. But why not be honest, and recognize the fact that Dresden will never become the ideal gallery it might be made until directors no longer look upon a picture, when once it is bought and hung, as a sort of fetish, to be piously preserved at all costs, until the public no longer believe that an old master could never paint trash, that the authorities in a national gallery can never err in the arrangement and estimate of their treasures? N. N.

Correspondence.

AMERICAN TESTIMONY FROM CHILI.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: One would naturally expect that diplomatic and consular representatives of a friendly Power, while zealous to protect the interests of their citizens, would, in circumstances of reorganization such as exist in Chili, do all they could to render the difficulties of the situation less trying to those bearing the responsibility of the reëstablishment of law and order. Such a spirit does not characterize the conduct of the United States officials in Chili to-day; and it is this temper of obstructionists which riles Chilians, and makes them disposed to resent the spread-eagle, overreaching officiousness of Egan, McCreery, etc.

With reference to the *San Francisco* trip to Quintero Bay, concerning which I wrote a letter published in your issue of October 8, what I claimed was the fact: that she went; that the boat which left the United States Consul on board brought back the news of the Congressional landing; and that the news thus became public property. Admiral Brown denied the fact of his going out to spy, and claimed that he limited himself to cabling facts to his Government; yet the following telegram by the Intendente Viel to Balmaceda surely bears no uncertain testimony to Admiral Brown's witness to the effectiveness and military meaning of the landing:

[Translation.]

"*From Valparaiso to the Moneda—August* 21 *of* 1891 (*at* 9:36 *A. M.*).

"Mr. President: The American Admiral has just left me, and he believes, as I do, that reembarkment is impossible. Viel."

To sustain the fact of the giving out of the news, I now state that I received, through the *San Francisco*, on the morning of August 21, a list of the vessels seen at Quintero and probable number of men actually disembarked.

In connection with the murder of two United States seamen, Capt. Schley knew the popular feeling against Americans because of the *Itata*, Quintero, and cable-cutting incidents, and, whether justified or not, its existence could not be ignored. Even the Consul had advised that the men be kept on board, yet 117 men were given shore leave on October 16. Sailors always make for the worst sections of the city, and their drinking invariably leads to rows and arrests. Given the excited popular prejudices against Americans, it was highly indiscreet in Capt. Schley to land his men at all; and, given the unfortunate tendency of these Latin races to treacherously draw the knife where Anglo-Saxons would have a good honest fisticuff, it is only surprising that more were not injured. Every honorable man deplores the whole affair, yet thinks it was provoked by Capt. Schley's indiscretion. Still, such troubles with seamen are no rare occurrence, and the cause of them is manifest in the Judge's note of November 20, transmitted to Capt. Schley, which calls attention to the fact that, when presenting themselves as witnesses at the hearing, two *Baltimore* seamen were so intoxicated that one had to be carried out of the court-room.

The question of claims growing out of this sailors' row is for the United States Government to consider soberly and calmly; but is that possible when those who inform the Government go about saying, as several different persons have told me, and as I have myself heard from the lips of the Consul: "By what right of international law, I should like to know, can German and English seamen come ashore, and ours not? If this Government cannot guarantee us protection, why, we will come down and establish one that will. They have had their star chamber to whitewash their men, but we have also had ours. We have spent $4,000 cabling our report, and now it rests with the Cabinet to say what shall be done. It is an international question. I tell you Chili is over a volcano, and if she is not careful, she will be wiped off the face of the earth."

I have no personal animus whatever against Consul McCreery, yet when partisan feeling and rash talk show a desire to bring two nations into collision, it is time to speak and write the truth freely. To make a personal street conversation public is delicate, and my only excuse for doing so is to substantiate and guarantee as true what from other sources I know as street talk. The real object sought in pressing claims is, I believe, to influence exchange. Consul McCreery saw that every Congressional success bettered exchange, while Balmaceda's success lowered it. He was in daily communication by letter and telephone with Minister Egan in Santiago, who had constant access to the Moneda (White House), and who thus received the earliest news. The Consul could not help using this when he bought and sold bills of exchange, and made money. He was advised to be content with gains already made, but he was willing to back his opinion that, after receipt of arms, the organization of a force sufficient to defeat Balmaceda would take months; and so the sudden apparition in Quintero Bay, and the successes that followed, raised exchange so as probably to nip him badly. If now he can only make exchange drop, it would suit his bank account, and in furthering that object he talks as no representative of a foreign Power has any right to do.

The Shields claim has the same purpose, I believe. On roll 427, number 23 of steamer *Keeweenaw*, dated New York, July 18, 1891, he is registered as Patrick Shields, born in Ireland, subject of Great Britain, aged twenty-nine years, height 5 feet 10 inches. His also is a case of maltreatment and imprisonment. Diagnosis: drunk. Nothing shows the spirit of aggression of the United States representatives better than their making a claim of this when these data and the register of Shields as a deserter existed in the consulate.

The State Department will, I hope, be asked by Congress to hand over all official and private correspondence bearing on this war and its incidents, and its publication will show whether the representatives kept the Govern-

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ment informed as to the true condition of affairs or misrepresented it.

Minister Egan's son had a railroad contract from Balmaceda's Government, and he himself was the closest diplomatic friend of the defunct Dictator. Admiral McCann compares Balmaceda to Lincoln, and in offering to mediate urges it because of the impossibility of the Congressionalists overthrowing him. Consul McCreery talks violently and is busy in exchange speculation. Admiral Brown, despite his denial, labors under the imputation of providing Balmaceda with military news and opinions.

Is the testimony of such men, and of the naval officers whose sentiment they mould, reliable and sufficient ground for pressing claims and assuming a threatening attitude? Forbearance and magnanimity become a great people. Do not allow prejudiced, self-seeking representatives to lead you to belie the traditions and history of your past.

JOHN TRUMBULL.

The undersigned, United States citizens, vouch that Dr. John Trumbull, Chilian born, an American by parentage and education, writes the foregoing honestly, from facts in his possession, and is worthy of credence.

(Signed), REV. JAMES F. GARVIN,
W. S. SHRIGLEY,
P. A. MCKELLAR,
A. A. PLOTNER,
REV. F. THOMPSON.

VALPARAISO, December 9, 1891.

THE APPLICATION OF IT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is much to be desired that you should point the morals of your own articles, but if you will not, then I must perform the part of the chorus in the old Greek play and do it for you. Thus, your article upon "Ohio's Republican Tammany" gives the history of Mr. George Cox, and closes with this sentence: "The significance of Cox is as a type of the men who are to-day the most powerful class in the Government of this country—the bosses of our great cities." The lesson to be drawn is, that the "boss" of to-day is the ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν of the old Greeks; that from that time to this the world always has been, as it probably always will be, governed by *men*; that men, and not measures, are the only effective medium of appeal to the masses of the people.

If there is one general characteristic of our politics—national, State, and city—it is the amount of precaution taken for the suppression of individuality. It is true that we elect mayors, governors, and presidents, but before we trust them with office we carefully tie their hands and feet and deprive them of every shadow of power, except by underhand combination and intrigue. Honestly and openly they can do nothing and can be held responsible for nothing. We then proceed to put all power in the hands of bodies of men called legislatures, made up of a mass of political atoms, all precisely equal, with no leaders or crystallizing element, working entirely by majorities and minorities, nominally based on the shibboleths of Republicans and Democrats, though these are merely covers for the log-rolling and intrigue by which majorities are obtained. The whole body splits itself up into committees, which work again by majorities and minorities and the same methods, the chairman having only a nominal precedence. The members of the Legislature are selected by caucuses and conventions, working by pure majority and minority, the candidates themselves having very little to do with the matter, at least publicly. And when the people look on in stupefied amazement at a game which they do not understand, and in which they take little or no interest, we scold at them and proclaim aloud that universal suffrage has failed.

Meantime, Mr. George Cox, being gifted with natural shrewdness, strong will power, and the instinct of rule, takes the short cut towards it. He gathers a band of followers, the conditions being implicit obedience on one side and plunder on the other. Through these agents and by processes so simple that a child can understand them, he takes possession of the nominating conventions, and provides candidates for the Republicans. A counterpart so exactly like him that it is difficult to avoid suspicion of collusion, does the same thing for the Democrats, and the people are limited in their choice to the candidates of these two worthies.

Your article, succeeding the other, upon "Cheats and Cheating," is merely a development of the same theme. You express surprise that when the Republicans have come to grief by a long course of cheating, the Democrats, on their advent to power, should proceed in exactly the same way. The fact is, they can do nothing else. It seems pretty strong to say that cheating is the only way in which our politics can be carried on, but the process of lobbying, intrigue, and trading of votes by which alone majorities are obtained, comes so near to it that the difference is not great. Not that there are no honest men in politics. Thanks to universal suffrage, there are a great many. But they find that they can accomplish nothing by honest methods, and so they either conform to the political atmosphere about them or take themselves off. This latter alternative is most in favor, thus leaving a residue of the kind dear to the heart of Mr. George Cox, the first lesson impressed upon them being on all occasions to oppose any strengthening of the executive, by raising a howl about "one-man power."

What is the remedy? Why, to recognize frankly that "bosses" are just as much a necessity in politics as in a factory, a railway, or a dry-goods store; and instead of resolutely shutting our eyes to facts, to take measures that we have good bosses instead of bad ones. The one-man power does and will force itself to the front in spite of all we can say or do. The only choice left to us is as to what kind of one-man power we will have.

The method is, to convert the nominal into the real executive, to give to the Mayor, Governor, or President the full conduct of administration by the power of appointment and removal of heads of departments, and through them of all subordinates, one man in each place. Then give to the Legislature no power of interference with the executive, but every power of inquiry and criticism, with that of granting or refusing money. Give to the executive, further, the power of proposing and defending such measures as it thinks necessary for administration, and to the Legislature (*mirabile dictu*) the veto power. Then let the whole struggle over these questions be carried on in full view of the public, with as much care for the protection of individuality as we now use towards the suppression of it; so that the people may know what kind of men they have chosen, and which of them they will select for further advancement; and instead of civil war being necessary for the evolution of Lincolns and Grants and Shermans, the same result may be arrived at through the finances and the civil service, and the local affairs of States and cities.

G. B.

BOSTON, January 16, 1892.

BARBARISM IN OHIO.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is to be hoped that that portion of the press which is on the side of civilization as against savagery will do its full duty in the condemnation of the brutal mob which murdered a negro prisoner at Oxford, O., a few days since. The hanging and riddling with bullets of a man who was in the hands of the law, with nothing to cause doubt as to his trial and punishment, would have been bad enough at best; but when the fact is added that his life was fast ebbing away by a wound inflicted by his own hand, the wantonness of the butchery becomes almost inconceivable.

The community has suffered a disgrace which can be wiped out by nothing less than the prompt arrest of the leaders in the bloody outrage and their punishment to the fullest extent which the law will allow. If this cannot be done, then Oxford is a community from which respectable people should absent themselves.

A CITIZEN OF OHIO.

LOWELL AS INTERPRETER TO THE SOUTH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The characterization of Lowell in the January *Atlantic* by Mr. Henry James brings to mind what has long seemed to me something of special interest to the Southern student in the writings of that poet. Speaking for myself, I have found it hard, in my reading, satisfactorily to recover the North's point of view in entering upon the contest with the South. This difficulty, I apprehend, has been more or less plainly felt by many foreigners—by Mr. Gladstone, for instance, and Prof. Freeman, to mention no others. No familiarity, however large, with the public utterances of that time seems altogether to clear the view of a student of to-day; the life-blood is gone out of events; their finer spirit is irrevocable.

Approaching the problem from the Southern standpoint, I had my first distinct sense of illumination when I took up the poems of Lowell. I began with him to feel again what had been felt before. I recognized in him "the throb" Mr. James speaks of. I could no longer be oblivious to the steady and powerful impulse that had driven the North on. Each repeated reading of the "Commemoration Ode," the second series of the "Biglow Papers," and the other war pieces of Lowell has brought me nearer, I am fain to think, to realizing the highest significance of the contest to the Northern people.

In this view, Lowell's value, to the Southern student at least, is to be found in his poetry, less as poetry than as criticism; and if I venture to contend that his fame as an interpreter of literature and events will outlast his vogue as a singer, I am not sure that this is to attempt a detraction. He will remain, more than any other American, the inspirer of love for one's country. I think of him as a perfect example among the moderns of that noble saying by Thucydides of the Athenian, that his true self was his mind; and this was never more truly his own than when working to compass the welfare of his country.

I may add, if so personal a view as this can possess an interest, that, next to Lowell, I have found Motley's Letters most helpful in fixing the true purport of the war to the Northern people.

THOMAS H. CLARK.

MONTGOMERY, ALA., January 9, 1892.

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THE HOLTZENDORFF FUND.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Referring to the note in your issue of January 14, on the Holtzendorff Fund, I take pleasure in informing you that a movement is on foot for the formation of an American committee to further the interests of this truly commendable object. Pending such organization, the writer would be happy to furnish documents and information to any who may be interested in the project.—Respectfully,

Roland P. Falkner.

Philadelphia, January 15, 1892.

AN EXHUMED CIPHER.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Some time ago a gang of workmen, who were excavating for the foundation of a barn on my farm near here, dug up a small pile of English coins dating more than 150 years ago; they were all copper and of small value. Near the same place was also found a curious copper plate, which at once engaged my interest, and I have tried to trace its origin and learn its owner and use.

The plate has engraved upon its face the English alphabet, also the punctuation marks and the Arabic numerals, and opposite to each of these is a cipher. Upon the reverse side is the name of the engraver—Pontifex, 46 Shoe Lane, London. This plate was found in ground upon which, it is said Gen. Braddock's army of English and colonial troops encamped, and adjacent to the old "Braddock's Road" made by them as they advanced from this point towards Wills' Creek, Maryland (afterwards called Cumberland for his warlike Highness the Duke of Cumberland), and thence towards Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, Pa., in the memorable campaign of 1755 against the French, which resulted in the disastrous ambuscade and slaughter of nearly the whole of Gen. Braddock's army. Along this same road Washington led the retreat of the survivors of this battle back to Winchester, where he built Fort Loudoun, which may be seen here to-day.

The locality of the finding of the plate and coins and the dates of the coins have induced me to venture the conjecture that they were dropped by some one in Braddock's army, and that the plate was a key to cipher despatches, and perhaps belonged to Gen. Braddock's private secretary, young Shirley, who was a son of Gov. Shirley of Massachusetts; or else was the key to private cipher communications between individuals of that time. Through a professional correspondent, I have had an examination made in the British Museum, by Mr. W. J. Hardy of Lincoln's Inn, London, a son of Sir William Hardy, formerly Keeper of the Records, and himself a "Record Agent"—*i. e.*, he works up cases of genealogy, custom, and such like for solicitors and others, and is therefore familiar with the repositories of the records and ancient documents. He writes that "in the Sixth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, page 638, may be found a cipher used by Mary Queen of Scots; some of the ciphers are similar to those on this copper plate." He does not think it could have been a military cipher, as they do not, at the Record Office, know of any cipher used in despatches from America, except that of numbers for words, such as 1688 = was, and 1972 = through. Pontifex, the engraver, Mr. Hardy finds, was well known in his day, and that was more than a hundred years ago, but the people who have succeeded to his business at the same place in London can give no information about the plate.

I send herewith an impression from the plate. Can any of your readers tell me more about the cipher?—Yours truly,

W. Roy Stephenson.

Winchester, Va., January 12, 1892.

EXPECT FOR SUSPECT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: This substitution, though it has been called an Americanism, is, probably, in the colloquial language both of the high and of the low, quite as common here in England as elsewhere. Until somewhat recently, however, it seems to have been sanctioned very infrequently by authors of good repute; and one would fain believe that polite literature can furnish but few quotations to accompany the following:

"Leibnitz, . . . being very erroneous himself, cannot be *expected* to have bequeathed precision to his followers." Oliver Goldsmith (1759), *Miscellaneous Works* (ed. Prior, 1837), Vol. III., p. 246.

"I *expect* they are of a character which will not set you upon making comparisons." Rev. Dr. William Whewell (1821), in Mr. I. Todhunter's *Account of Dr. Whewell's Writings* (1876), Vol. II., p. 43.

"But it is an old saying, that a story never loses in telling; and so we may *expect* it must have been with this story." Sir George W. Dasent, *Story of Burnt Njal* (1861), Vol. I., Preface, p. viii.

"Now, *I expect*, Lady Ambrose, that, in its true sense, you know a good deal more history than you are aware of." Mr. W. H. Mallock, *The New Republic* (1877), p. 184 (ed. 1878).

The misuse of *expect* thus exemplified occurs again and again in the writings of President Jefferson. In at least one instance, where the reference is not to the future, he has also *expectation*. Yet, as will be seen from what is about to be cited, he is not the sole proprietor of this barbarism:

"A fond *expectation* that the Duke had come in search of her filled her bosom with the hope of an explanation; and, removing the traces of tears from her eyes, she waited his coming with eager anxiety." Mrs. Eliza Nathan, *Langreath* (1822), Vol. III., p. 88.

Your obedient servant, F. H.

Marlesford, England, December 29, 1891.

Notes.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. will shortly bring out 'The Early Renaissance, and Other Essays,' by Prof. J. M. Hoppin of Yale; and 'Miss Bagg's Secretary,' a new novel by Clara Louise Burnham.

A translation of G. Maspéro's 'Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria,' with illustrations, will be published directly by D. Appleton & Co.

Fleming H. Revell Co. have nearly ready a new Life of Lincoln, following those of Spurgeon and Wesley in their series of "Lives that Speak."

Macmillan & Co. have in press 'The Problems of Greek History,' by Prof. Mahaffy.

A new and cheap edition of Andrew Lang's literary and critical essays is announced by Longmans & Co., together with one of Lecky's 'History of England in the Eighteenth Century,' in twelve monthly volumes, divided seven to England and five to Ireland.

'The Place-Names' of Scotland, by the Rev. J. B. Johnston, is to be published this month by David Douglas, Edinburgh.

Selections from George Long's translation of the 'Discourses of Epictetus' form, with the 'Encheiridion,' the new volume of the Knickerbocker Nuggets (Putnams).

Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth has put together in one volume an account of the Battles of Saratoga, 1777, and a statistical sketch of the Saratoga Monument Association, 1886-1891 (Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons). The volume is profusely illustrated with views, portraits, and maps, and has a permanent value. The monuments marking sites are shown photographically. They are the gifts of descendants, sometimes women, of American participators in the campaign against Burgoyne. A visitors' guide to Saratoga Springs concludes the compilation.

Every student and teacher must be thankful to Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard for his 'Epoch Maps Illustrating American History,' bearing the imprint of the Messrs. Longman. They are fourteen in number, and bear witness to an immense amount of well-directed research among the sources. Very striking is the series showing the territorial extent and civil divisions of the United States on March 4, 1801, 1825, and 1855, July 4, 1861, and March 4, 1891, respectively. The infamy and peril of the last moves of the Slave Power stand out most effectively in the map exhibiting the status of slavery 1775–1865, where the disgraceful legend in red reads, over nearly half the country, "Opened to Slavery—Slavery Confirmed," by acts of Congress and the Dred Scott decision. The small scale of these maps rendered crowding unavoidable. We should hope that Prof. Hart regards them only as an essay, to be followed some day by a larger atlas with a printed reference to the leading authorities and points of controversy upon the back.

The Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society are never without interest for the people of "the States," and there is much to bear out this assertion in the latest volume (vii.), issued by the Society at Halifax. Most important is the publication for the first time of the tabular General Return of the population in the several townships for January 1, 1767, with very instructive comments by D. Allison. Incidentally the writer discusses the number of Acadians summarily expelled in 1755, shows that the race was not exterminated and survived the shock, and that the exiles in some measure made their way back, though not so soon as to be counted in this General Return as landowners or citizens owning allegiance upon oath. The American settlements reckoned about 1,000 souls. Very readable, also, is ex-Gov. Archibald's story of Nova Scotia's share in peopling Sierra Leone with negroes, which might be paralleled by the experiences of our own fruitless Colonization Society.

We should have noticed sooner the appearance of what is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the study of the history of our language, namely, 'Die Sprache der Rushworth Glossen zum Evangelium Matthäus und der Mercische Dialect,' Part I., Vokale (Göttingen: Dietrich, 1891). In view of the now generally accepted theory that Mercian is the direct ancestor of our modern literary English, it is clear that any light thrown upon its peculiar phonology will be most acceptable to all scholars of English. The author, Prof. E. M. Brown (who now holds the chair of English in the University of Cincinnati), has treated the vowel-system of Rushworth Mercian exhaustively. His conclusions are that in point of age the language is later than the Corpus Gloss and older than the times of King Alfred and the Life of Chad; in point of form it is distinctively Midland and not inclining to Kentish.

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The fourth volume of *Garden and Forest* (New York) lies bound before us, bearing ample testimony to the continued success of its conductors in maintaining its high character during the past year. The editorial column has been ably filled with matter useful to municipalities as well as to individuals. The engravings afford a rich variety of remarkable or rare trees, flowers, shrubs, and landscapes, each with its accompanying letter-press. Perhaps most noticeable in the contributions is the series of letters from the shore towns of Massachusetts, by Mr. J. B. Harrison, whose pilgrimage was made to determine how far citizens, hotel-keepers, and summer cottagers had appropriated the shore with the prospect of cutting off public access to it, and what provision for commons existed. His revelations are surprising, and ought to lead to vigorous village-improvement societies from the Merrimac to Provincetown.

An interesting contribution to recent Goethe literature is Dr. Karl Heinemann's 'Goethe's Mutter: ein Lebensbild nach den Quellen' (Leipzig: Seemann, 1891). The remarkable qualities of the Frau Rath, as she was called, the "Mütterchen" from whom her son claimed to have inherited

"die Frohnatur
Und Lust zu fabuliren,"

were not generally recognized until the publication of Bettina von Arnim's 'Goethe's Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde' in 1835. Heinemann's biography covers a period of nearly seventy years, and gives a history of the poet's ancestry, including his great-grandfather, the farrier of Artern in Thuringia, and his grandfather, the tailor, who wandered off to Frankfort, where he generated the stock that has made the family name famous. The present volume contains many of Frau Goethe's letters, full of kindly feeling and fresh humor, independent of the conventionalities of society and of grammar, and as original in thought as in orthography. Heinemann also depicts at length the life and trials of Goethe's sister, the gifted but unhappy Cornelia. The publisher has spared no pains in illustrating the work, which has met with deserved success, having already passed into a second edition.

In the January number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* may be found a list of battles and casualties of Massachusetts regiments during the war of the rebellion, compiled by Mrs. Florence W. Jaques, chief assistant to T. W. Higginson, State Military and Naval Historian. Mr. Waters's "Genealogical Gleanings in England" have a weighty reference to the Lees of Virginia, who are also taken up in an authoritative paper by J. Henry Lea, a little later on in the same number.

The General Theological Library of Boston is making an effort to extend its membership and so its usefulness. It was established in 1860 for the benefit of clergymen and all others in all parts of the country interested in theological studies, and now has at command some 16,000 books, besides nearly as many pamphlets and newspapers. Full particulars in regard to its methods and needs and the ways of meeting the latter may be obtained from the Secretary, Mr. Luther Farnham, 6 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston.

The School of Applied Ethics will hold its second session this year as last at Plymouth, Mass., from July 1 to August 12. The managers have good hopes of founding a permanent school of this name and scope in connection with some large university. Prof. C. H. Toy of Cambridge succeeds Prof. H. C. Adams as dean for the current year, and to him or to S. Burns Weston, Treasurer, No. 1602 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, contributions for the support of the School may be sent. Meantime there has been a necessary raising of the tuition fee from ten to twenty dollars (for all the courses in the three departments).

The annual Alvarenga prize for the best essay on any subject in medicine is offered through the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, of which Dr. Charles W. Dulles is Secretary. Essays must be received by him on or before May 1, 1892. The prize this year amounts to about $180.

An historical exhibition illustrating the technical methods of the Reproductive Arts, with special reference to the photo-mechanical processes of the present day, is now open at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and will close on March 6.

From the report of the directors of the British South Africa Company presented at the recent annual meeting of shareholders, and the comments upon it, two or three things are apparently true of the vast region of 500,000 square miles administered by it. Although the alluvial gold and the reefs down to a certain depth in parts of Mashonaland have been exhausted by prehistoric miners, there are reefs in the heart of the virgin forest which have never been touched by either black or white, and, when rapid communications are opened up, will yield a considerable profit on the expense of working. As regards the agricultural value of the land, a deputation of prominent Cape Colony farmers who visited it on behalf of intending colonists, and whose observations were made over a region 500 miles in extent by 25 in width, concluded that at least 40,000 square miles of Mashonaland can be occupied by a white farming population. An interesting discovery, it may be added, in this same region has just been announced of a hill on the rock of which are imprinted a crowd of footsteps, "many human, many of wild animals," all turned towards the top of the hill, as if fleeing from some great primeval disaster. What this was there is nothing left to show.

A correspondent obligingly points out that in our issue of January 7 we erroneously ascribed the authorship of the article on the Encyclical *Novarum Rerum* in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of December 15 to M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, editor of *L'Économiste Français*, while it is the work of his elder brother Anatole, who is known especially on account of his remarkable volumes on Russia. "It may interest you," adds our correspondent, "to know that while in college, where they were classmates of each other, Paul was known as a strong all-around man, while Anatole, who excelled his brother in his literary studies, paid no attention whatever to the purely scientific side of his education. This may explain partly why he is now a good deal more of a dreamer than his 'hard-headed' brother."

—The January Bulletin of the Boston Public Library contains two interesting selections from its valuable collection of historical manuscripts. These, the first of an intended series, are published partly for the purpose of making them known, and partly for the sake of preserving them in permanent form. The first consists of the 'Memoranda of Lieut.-Col. Eld of the Coldstream Guards, during his service in America, in the years 1779 and 1780.' They are written on leaves inserted in a copy of Tarleton's 'History of the Campaigns of 1780–81,' and were probably begun as a commentary on this work, although the intention was only partially carried out. The most interesting portion is a vivacious account of an expedition to Paramus in the Jerseys, where an American picket was posted, on March 23, 1780. The rebels were surprised and dispersed, but the British on their retreat were apparently saved from total destruction only by the gallantry of Col. Eld, then an ensign, who with three others stopped the advance of the Americans by tearing up the planks of a bridge under a heavy fire. The last entry is: "March 26th. Got permission to visit New York & to perform at the Theatre." This is followed by ten letters of Earl Percy, written between the years 1774 and 1778. They contain nothing of special note except the view which he takes of the situation in his first letter written from this country, dated October 27, 1774. In this he writes: "Our affairs here are in the most Critical Situation imaginable; Nothing less than the total loss or Conquest of the Colonies must be the End of it." He forms a very poor opinion of the colonists at the outset, for he writes in November of the same year: "The People here are the most designing Artfull Villains in the World. They have not the least Idea of either Religion or Morality. Nor have they the least Scruple of taking the most solemn Oath on any Matter that can assist their Purpose, tho' they know the direct contrary can be clearly & evidently proved in half an Hour." The American letters close with an account of the battle of Long Island, in which, however, the Earl took no part.

—The Code of Georgia is the only one in the United States in which the common law and the principles of equity are reduced to a series of separate and distinct propositions having the form and force of statutes. Judge Richard H. Clark of Atlanta, the only surviving member of the commission which drafted it, gives its history in the November-December number of the *American Law Review*. The Code, strange to say, was constructed on the general plan of the Code of Alabama, a State which Judge Clark calls "the daughter of Georgia." But when Mr. George A. Gordon of Savannah, who had examined with care the Alabama Code of 1852, proposed in November, 1858, to the Georgia Legislature the codification of the laws of Georgia, he went further, embracing in his scheme laws derived from the common law and the decisions of the Supreme Court of the State as well as from the statutes. The Code of 1860, prepared on this design, was the two years' work of David Irwin, Thomas R. R. Cobb, and Richard H. Clark. To Mr. Cobb was assigned that part which is its distinguishing feature—the Civil Code. Judge Clark says of him that he possessed an order of mind which qualified him, if genius and learning can qualify one, for originating codes and constitutions for the government of States. But he adds: "A code of laws must be founded on the developments of time, and no State or nation is prepared for a code of laws until it has gradually enacted a series of laws from which, by harmonious amendments and alterations, a wise system may be formed." Though Judge Clark asserts that, during the twenty-seven years of trial, the Code of Georgia has been found adequate to every emergency, it may be doubted whether it has been a benefit to the jurisprudence of the State. There are others besides the late Robert Toombs who have doubted its wisdom. The Code enacted into law the decisions of the State Supreme Court. That court was not organized until 1845. It

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was unhampered by binding precedents, and consciously adopted a policy at war with the arbitrary and technical principles which characterized the early common law. There can be no doubt that this court, if care had been continually exercised in the selection of its judges, would in fifty years have gradually moulded a much more admirable system of laws than that struck off at a heat by the three codifiers of 1860.

—Mr. Randolph Harrison of Lynchburg, Va., calls our attention to the fact that the Confederate Gen. Early, in Southern Historical Society Papers for December, 1877, is authority for the story of Lee's interview with Gen. Ewell on the first day of the battle of Gettysburg, which was treated as mythical in the review of Drake's 'Battle of Gettysburg' in our No. 1384. To have the authority for a story definitely placed is one step towards a correction, and we thank Mr. Harrison for the reference. In the review it was spoken of as "a version ill-supported," and a little fuller citation of the authorities referred to will, as we think, make this clear. In his official report, Gen. Lee himself speaks of his wish that Ewell should seize Culp's Hill at the close of the first day, but adds that the National forces anticipated Ewell and occupied the hill, "but in what force could not be ascertained, owing to the darkness." He also says that "an intercepted despatch showed that another corps had halted that afternoon four miles from Gettysburg. *Under these circumstances*, it was decided not to attack until the arrival of Longstreet, two of whose divisions encamped about four miles in the rear during the night." He thus distinctly makes his determination not to press the attack by his left wing (which is a material part of the story referred to) *follow* these events. Ewell's report fixes the time. He says: "I received orders soon after dark to draw my corps to the right, in case it could not be used to advantage where it was. . . . I represented to the Commanding General that the hill above referred to (Culp's Hill) was unoccupied by the enemy, . . . and that it commanded their position and made it untenable, so far as I could judge." He waited for Johnson's division to arrive before making the attempt to take it, and "after twelve o'clock at night" sent his orders to Johnson. Johnson's attempt failed because Meade's troops had been first in occupying it, and the fact was thus discovered; but by the time Ewell got the news, "day was now breaking and it was too late for any change of place"; that is to say, he could not carry out the alternative in Lee's order by moving his troops towards the right. It is thus proved to have been near daybreak of the second day when Lee made the determination which it is the gist of the story that he reached in the afternoon of the first. Ewell further says of this second day: "Early in the morning I received a communication from the Commanding General, the tenor of which was that he intended the main attack to be made by the First Corps (Longstreet's) on our right, and wished me, as soon as their guns opened, to make a diversion in their favor, to be converted into a real attack if opportunity offered." This is the order itself, and Ewell's mode of describing it shows that it was not given on the evening of the first day, as it could not have been.

—Mr. Drake is equally explicit in making the supposed conversation occur after "Culp's Hill had been snatched from his (Ewell's) grasp." His mistake is in failing to notice that Ewell did not know of this till nearly daylight of the second day. It is thus that these official reports show that no such conversation could have taken place on the first day, when Ewell was still expecting to seize the point which would make Cemetery Hill "untenable." The circumstances told by Gen. Longstreet and Gen. Long are equally decisive, if we had room to analyze them. Long's narration not only shows that Early's story was an error of recollection, but gives a hint how it may have arisen. Lee went to Ewell's position in the forenoon of the second day, to see the ground for himself, and expected to hear Longstreet's guns open while there. He expressed the same impatience at the delay that he had expressed on the day before at the prolonged absence of Stuart's cavalry. This seems to be the germ out of which grew the misrecollection of 1877. Further examination only shows more conclusively the truth of our general proposition, that in a struggle for a place in history between authentic facts and a telling anecdote, the odds are all in favor of the anecdote.

—Students of English phonology will welcome the reprint (from *American Dialect Notes*) of Dr. O. F. Emerson's scholarly thesis on the "Ithaca Dialect." The author, who is now Assistant Professor of English at Cornell University, has made a worthy contribution to American scholarship, and opened a new field of linguistic study of great interest and value. His historical sketch of the settlement of Ithaca, N. Y., precedes a discussion of the language of the common people of that community, special care being taken to record only the unaffected pronunciation of the uncultured. The material is summarized in tables showing the development of the vowels of the dialect from Old and Middle English, and there follows a thorough treatment of the phonology. The concluding chapter treats of the relation to English in the mother-country, and points out that the Ithaca dialect shows the peculiarities of the eighteenth and, to some extent, the seventeenth-century English. In all probability it is a descendant of some branch of the Eastern Division as given in the classification of Ellis. Possibly the same conclusion might safely be drawn from a less minute study, but it is a matter for rejoicing that this first treatment of an American-English dialect should show in both plan and execution that scientific spirit and thorough workmanship which will render it a safe model for later explorers in the same field.

—M. F. Brunetière has published a new and revised edition of his interesting book on 'Le Roman Naturaliste,' in which he brings out even more forcibly than before his conviction that Zola and the writers of his school do not deserve to be called "naturalists" in the true sense of the word. This opinion is stated in so many words in the brief preface, but it is developed and maintained in the whole series of articles which forms the volume. Needless to say that M. Brunetière's exposition is a masterly one, and forms a valuable contribution to the literature of modern criticism, and that while readers who are not fanatical admirers of the Zolaesque school will cordially thank him for his courageous attack on the filthy and abominable books which so-called "naturalists" have produced, the partisans of the latter will find it a difficult task to invalidate his conclusions. Two essays have been omitted from this edition, the one upon Miss Rhoda Broughton's novels and that upon the Russian nihilistic novel. On the other hand, four essays have been added, on "Les Petits Naturalistes" (Céard, Huysman, Hennique, Maupassant), "La Banqueroute du Naturalisme" (in which Zola is severely handled *apropos* of 'La Terre'), "L'Évangéliste" of Daudet, and "Les Nouvelles" of Maupassant. Recent numbers of the *Revue Bleue* contain the lectures M. Brunetière is engaged in delivering weekly at the Odéon in Paris. These lectures, fifteen in number, will cover the history of the French drama from the time of Corneille to the present day. They are particularly interesting and instructive. Of the five which have appeared in the *Revue*, two especially deserve marked notice: they are those on Racine ("Andromaque") and Molière ("Le Tartuffe").

THE COMTIST CALENDAR.

The New Calendar of Great Men: Biographies of the 558 Worthies of all ages and countries in the Positivist Calendar of Auguste Comte. Edited by Frederic Harrison. Macmillan. 1892.

THAT the contemplation of the lives and characters of great men is a salutary and invigorating spiritual exercise has always been admitted and often proved. But it is so only on condition that the heroes are apprehended in all their living reality and passion; and, unfortunately, biography is infested with pious frauds. Washed-out accounts of Washington and Franklin have done incalculable injury to American characters. Such portraits had their origin in that deep faith in mendacity, as the only thing to be trusted to excite a desire to be good and to keep society straight—a sacred duty, too, to the dead—which was pervading and powerful in this country up to thirty years ago; and, thus engendered from the spirit of lies, how could these biographies bear living seeds of anything but hypocrisy and sordidness? Auguste Comte's calendar is a more systematic and resolute endeavor to belie the facts, not of this or that man's existence, but of biography in the wholesale. A list of Worthies which excludes Napoleon while admitting Harûn-ar-Rashîd, as if there were a single littleness of the former which was not still littler in the latter, or a single spark of greatness in the latter which was not a fiery blaze in the former, is plainly animated by some ulterior purpose; and a portraiture of man's development, as this calendar professes to be, that is arranged in thirteen equal divisions, each of these subdivided into four equal parts, and each of these again into seven others, of which six are equal and the seventh superior in every case, is no transcript from nature, but a fanciful invention.

Among Comte's contemptible traits, none more marks his smallness than this calendar—not the drawing of it up, for that might pass for a rational pastime, but the failure to inspire his disciples with manhood enough to cast it aside. Auguste Comte was as utterly wanting in admiration and sympathy for great men as he was for his neighbors. He thought of them, not as concrete souls, but only as factors in the advancement of the human race, abstractly considered. What are his thirteen greatest men? Mere figureheads: Moses, Homer, Aristotle, Archimedes, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Dante, Gutenberg, Shakspere, Descartes, Frederick the Great, and Bichat. Gutenberg! What did Comte know or care about Gutenberg as a man? But he is not thinking of the men themselves. Where is Jesus? Not among these 13; nor among the 52 of the second rank; nor yet among the 312 of

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the third rank; nor even among the 181 of the fourth rank—not there at all! Buddha, Confucius, and Mahomet—the gentle Mahomet!—are in the second rank; Zoroaster, Manco Capac, Menu, Sesostris in the third. Jesus is omitted because he does not represent the sentiments which it is Comte's purpose to inculcate. Most persons, asked to name a baker's dozen of the greatest names of all time, would choose twelve of them from among Alexander, Buddha, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Dante, Homer, Jesus, Mahomet, Michelangelo, Moses, Napoleon, Newton, Pythagoras, Shakspere, and Socrates; but only half of Comte's list is drawn from these. Those great leaders of armies and rulers of peoples, Attila, Belisarius, Charles XII., Clive, Cortez, Queen Elizabeth, Genghis Khan, Julian, Marlborough, Napoleon, Omar I., Peter the Great, Pitt, Timour, Turenne, Wallace, Wellington, William the Conqueror, are not recognized as great men at all. Godfrey de Bouillon goes in as a stanch Catholic. Comte held everything like Protestantism in detestation; we search his list in vain for the names of Calvin, Huss, Knox, Luther, Savonarola, Swedenborg, Wesley, Wiclif. These he excluded as mere destroyers, thus betraying a very false notion of the process of mental development, in which destruction plays an essential part—there was no other good in Comte himself. He took little stock in doctors, and did not know John Hunter, Jenner, Sydenham, nor Vesalius.

Some great names in science, too, are omitted, as Gilbert, Herschel, Rumford; and perhaps not a single scholar is named as such. Yet mediocrities like Vaucanson and Montgolfier appear in the second rank! And this in the year of our Lord 1849, with the mechanical theory of heat in the air! Of course, Sadi-Carnot, Gaulois, Abel, are not to be dreamt of. Queer notions of philosophy find places for the stupid Albertus Magnus, the superficial John of Salisbury, the crazy Raymond Lully, the empty Ramus, the emotionalist Bonaventura, the unsound Hobbes, the insignificant Cusa, Campanella, Vauvenargues, Duclos, and others equally destitute of all claim to greatness, while such important thinkers as Epicurus, Abelard, Duns Scotus, Ockham, Berkeley, Rousseau, Bentham, James Mill, pass unnoticed. Comte was too small a mathematician to appreciate Cauchy, Fresnel, Gauss, Laplace, or even Ricardo. Fermat, who as a reasoner cannot possibly be placed lower than second in the whole history of mind, for he invented a form of inference absolutely novel, and, besides, discovered the mode of reasoning of the differential calculus, all but its notation—this man is admitted to the list, but only in the lowest rank, as second to a second-rate mathematician, John Wallis.

But this is only an example of how little the utilitarian world cares for reasoners. Reasoners are of no use, for the most part, except to posterity—and unborn posterity rouses but a mild interest. The calls of a bread-and-butter profession prevented Fermat from accomplishing much. He could do little but jot down on margins of books and on stray leaves surprising propositions about numbers without demonstrations, destined to puzzle his ablest successors for over two hundred years. One of his theorems is still under investigation. Nevertheless, Comte, a professed mathematician, wearily assigns to Fermat bare standing-room among his assemblage of Worthies. So it was with Jacob Steiner, another most wonderful reasoner, with little question the greatest of all geometers, though not in Comte's list. Extreme poverty quite prevented the publication of the greater part of his discoveries, which have thus been lost; and those that were published had to be published without demonstrations. Thus they remained a dead wall for geometry during thirty-six years. It was the same, in a measure, with the remarkable reasoner, Thomas Young, though he practised a lucrative profession. Kepler's great work, beyond comparison the most marvellous piece of ampliative reasoning ever executed, as well as the most momentous in its consequences, was rendered possible only by his wife's riches and the bounty of the Emperor. His contemporaries, no doubt, held Kepler in high esteem, but they could not dream that his performance was destined to lead to a Newton's, and thence, through the development of modern physics, was to revolutionize the daily life of every civilized being. It was only a sinecure professorship, which another had voluntarily resigned to him, that enabled Newton to do his work (the wealthy Halley paying the printer); and surely this one result by itself fully justifies and compensates all the expenditures that have ever been made in England to establish foundations. Rowan Hamilton, the inventor of quaternions, likewise held a professorship without definite duties. The annual dues of the Royal Society prevented him from the advantage of membership; Newton had been excused from their payment.

Aristotle himself, the prince of thinkers, would scarcely, we believe, be heard of to-day, if it had not been for Alexander. Even as it was, his great works excited so little attention that if a single copy had not been exhumed from the cellar where it had been rotting, forgotten, for nigh two centuries, the whole current of human thought would have been different, and we should perhaps be this day in semi-barbarism. The same thing would equally have resulted if it had not happened that the greatest man of thought of all time was beloved by the greatest man of action. It needed an Alexander to appreciate an Aristotle: ordinary men have not imagination enough to be interested in posterity.

If Newton had not done his work, it would have got done piecemeal, with a delay of, say, fifty years in the establishment of the law of gravitation. If Kepler had not done his more difficult work, it would have had to wait for the further development of mathematics and of philosophy, which would themselves have been greatly retarded, so that civilization would probably have been put back almost two centuries. We should now be living in something like the age of Queen Anne. If Aristotle had not done his work, the result would have been too vastly altered for our comprehension.

Palissy the Potter, a man of great penetration, and the best possible judge of such a matter, gave it as his opinion that a large majority of the world's powerful thinkers are either crushed by circumstances or forced into the pursuit of wealth, and so lost for the world's uses. Who can imagine how we should be situated now if these men had had the encouragement that the public interest required? No doubt, human misery would have been greatly abated, for poor and for rich, and human life much prolonged. But we have to suffer for our forefathers' improvidence. There is no civilized country where a great work of reasoning is less feasible than in ours. We have most superb observatories and laboratories, it is true, but what would a Kepler, with his bad sight and awkward hand,* be doing in such an establishment? Perhaps among our sixty millions there may just now live such a mind; certainly, nobody is on the lookout for him. If he does exist, one wonders what he is doing. Reading examination papers?

The notices in this volume are perfunctory, dead-and-alive things; considering the men, not as they lived and breathed and burned, but as they appear in relation to the cult of Comte's *Grand Être*. There are but 644 pages for 558 biographies, so they could hardly but be jejune and dull. Yet the reader might at least have been referred to the best sources of further information. In fact, he is referred to second and third-rate authorities. Loose and incorrect statements are so abundant that we do not think it necessary to give instances of them.

* "Ad observationes vero sum hebeti visu, ad mechanica inepta manu, ad negotia domestica et politica curiosa et cholerica natura, ad continue sedendum (præsertim ultra justum et statum tempus epularum) infirmo corpore, etiam cum valetudo constat."

KENNAN'S SIBERIA.—II.

Siberia and the Exile System. By George Kennan. The Century Co. 1891.

If Mr. Kennan's book is to be regarded from the standpoint of its title, as a discussion of the exile system in general, it will be seen from the foregoing instances that a good many things remain to be said. If it is to be considered as a remonstrance against the treatment of politicals, administrative exiles, only, we will concede at once that this treatment entails some hardships to which they are generally unaccustomed, and which even the poor students find physically hard to bear. That they suffer, at times, from the caprices of brutal officials, may also be safely admitted. Two points, however, cannot fail to impress the unbiassed reader: the freedom of intercourse with politicals allowed the author, even when the officials caught him in the act; and the fact that the bulk of his most valuable testimony (next to that afforded by official documents) was furnished him by Government officers in charge of exiles, some of whom were frank, and the majority of whom were frank and humane. When it is considered how undesirable these charges are, far from society and friends, and that first-class officials can obtain desirable posts elsewhere and will not accept these, it must be admitted that the balance of testimony is strongly in favor of the assertion that kind-heartedness and humanity, not brutality, are the prevailing characteristics of the Russian character. That prisoners should not be left at the mercy of brutal policemen and officials in Russia—or in America—is indisputable. Unfortunately, the means for enforcing discipline in this respect, even at much shorter range than from St. Petersburg to Irkutsk, has not yet been discovered.

If there is one thing which Mr. Kennan has succeeded in demonstrating more plainly than this general high average of Russian character in the officers, who rule mildly, and the prisoners, who endure with patience and even cheerfulness, it is not only that the Russian Government is fully aware of the evil state of the Siberian prisons and *étapes*, but that it has appropriated funds and given orders for the construction of new and suitable buildings. "If all the money that has been appropriated for the construction and maintenance of 'tumble-down' buildings could now be gathered together, it would be enough to pay for the erection of a line of solid-silver *étapes* along the whole route from Tomsk to the city of Irkutsk," is the testimony of a well-posted inspector of exile transportation, as quoted by the author. If "the greater part of it has been divided between fraudulent contractors and corrupt Government officials," what an-

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swer can America make as to remedies, from her very palace of glass, except to deplore such international brotherhood of officialdom all over the world? Two wrongs do not make a right, it is true, but it is equally true that matters are not likely to be improved by outside interference when a country is conscious, as in this instance, of having taken adequate means to remedy an evil, which have come to naught by reason of such highway robbery.

That the prisons and *étapes* are in bad condition is perfectly plain from the testimony of both the Russian and the Siberian press, which also proves that nothing which Mr. Kennan says is news to Russians who can read. Certainly, the criticisms of Russians on the system do not seem to indicate any great severity of censorship or desire to shirk the question. It would be hard to find anything more outspoken in the books or newspapers of America, where the freedom (not to say the license) of the press is regarded as satisfactory by the most virulent man with a grievance, the most disinterested investigator of abuses, the most ambitious society dame. It is probable, indeed, that if any one, native or foreigner, were to publish a similar compilation of newspaper criticisms in regard to American prisons, convict-gangs, mines, almshouses, insane asylums, charity schools, and hospitals, the sum total would not be much behind this exhibit of Russian wrongdoing, while it would call forth more animadversions on the liberty of public speech and horror at American barbarity. We Anglo-Saxons are fond of boasting of our advanced civilization and humanity, not only as compared with Russians, but with other nations. The Russian system, with its defects, is not successful in repressing crime. We will not pause to consider which branch of the American system is the least effectual—that which is represented by sentimental petting and dainties, flowers and adoration, for convicted murderers; exaggerated solicitude that the few who pay the penalty of their crimes should not suffer a single twinge of pain, though they have not hesitated to inflict tortures on their innocent victims; and prisons so comfortable that it is a privilege to reside in them—or the opposite extreme of brutality which rivals any tale of Siberia because it is systematic, not spasmodic, as is shown to be the case in Siberia. We "live in a very large and very fragile glass house" ourselves, as the author remarks of his own position, when he encounters the diplomatic insincerity of the chief of police at Irkutsk; and it is well to leave Russia to decide upon her own policy in dealing with so vast and complicated a question as the disposal of her criminals, when we cannot remedy as bad a state of morals and sanitary conditions among the emigrants in the steerages of first-class ocean steamers, and our immigrant question in general. The system of Russia possesses at least one imperial merit, which no one should be quicker to appreciate than Americans—it disposes of its own criminals, and does not exile them to America to become a public charge and danger, as do the Continental Governments upon whose systems we bestow our favor.

That the prisons and *étapes* are in bad condition may be readily admitted on the testimony of the Siberian press, contained in Appendix F and elsewhere, without reference to Mr. Kennan's observations, or without hesitating over Mr. de Windt's assertions in Appendix E. When Mr. de Windt's promised book on prisons appears, we may be forced to reverse our ideas in detail. Meanwhile, although he is historically weak in his former work, which touches incidentally on Siberian travel and scenes, we have no just reason to question the accuracy of his sight on certain points, before he engaged in special researches, although they mitigate Mr. Kennan's view in some particulars.

The tables containing statistics of the hospital in one of the most congested of the forwarding prisons, that at Tiumén, for 1885 show that the percentage of deaths was 23.1. In the prison, as a whole, it sometimes rose, in other years, to 30 or 44 per cent. In none of the calculations is allowance made, apparently, for any unsanitary influences of the locality, but everything is attributed to overcrowding and the condition of the prisons, although some of the town sites are very unhealthy. The majority of the sick suffered from typhus fever and other infectious diseases. That some allowance should have been made for local conditions is shown by the fact that the percentage of deaths from infectious diseases, caused by bad sanitary conditions, is 24 in Kieff, 21 in St. Petersburg, 18 in Moscow, against 16 in London and 8 in Brussels. Undoubtedly, the percentage, all allowances being made, would still remain very high, but there would be a juster statement of the question. The computation of an annual death-rate of 8 per cent., which is made later on, upon the foundation of the deaths occurring during the voyage of ten days from Tiumén to Tomsk, which is attended with excessive mortality, goes to prove the necessity for allowances.

There are places where we should be glad of a little more information. In some cases, the author frankly admits that the political prisoners have been exiled for robbing sub-treasuries, conspiring against the Government, and so on, which would entail punishment in any land. In other cases, as in those of Mr. and Mrs. Cherniavski, Rosa Frank, and Vera Sheftel—to carry the list no further—he does not even tell us whether they are falsely accused, or of what. On p. 30 of vol. ii., the sweeping character of some of the statements is misleading. The reader is left to assume that *all* persons who taught factory-operatives were sent to Siberia, and that no schools for the lower working-classes, taught by the educated classes, exist any longer. On the contrary, it is not difficult to find in the capital persons who have taught such schools during the critical years referred to, and down to the present time. As for the accusations against the police, of bribe-taking from notorious criminals, subornation of perjury, clubbing nearly to death, and the like, we shall not be forced to go as far as Tomsk or other Siberian towns to find parallels, and we can only say, "Human nature is much the same everywhere," and deplore the fact that "human nature" has acquired such a specialized significance. This does not mean that we advocate these practices anywhere. That Russia will be forced, at some future day, to adopt the long-urged recommendations of her own officials, and comply with the demands of the Siberians by building home prisons and ceasing to flood Siberia with criminals, is perfectly plain. In the meantime, she might conciliate foreign opinion, if she thinks it worth her while, by adopting the methods of her foreign critics and hanging her evil-doers, instead of giving them another chance, under conditions which are, frequently, superior to those which they enjoyed at home when they are of the peasant class. Criticism would then fall powerless, and foreign humanity might plume itself.

In the meantime, also, the silver lining of this cloud is much more apparent than is usually the case to direct vision: the descendants of the present convicts will, no doubt, turn out very worthy and even aristocratic citizens, like the descendants of England's convicts in Australia. The intellectual work accomplished by the political exiles who are allowed such astonishing freedom in Western Siberia, will inure not only to the good of the country and the science of the world, but to their own fame. It is no exaggeration to say that some of these men have done more original work and will win more prominence eventually, through their Siberian researches, as a result of their banishment, than they would ever have attained under ordinary circumstances at home. Vladimir Korolénko, the writer, is a case in point. His first and chief fame rests on his sketches of Siberian experience, where it seems likely to remain, judging from later developments. That the politicals are not absolutely deprived of civilized implements, we may infer from the fact that the photograph on p. 278 of vol. ii. was made and given to Mr. Kennan by a political in Nerchinsk.

The Programme of the Revolutionists in Appendix C, and as embodied in their letter to the present Czar directly after the assassination of his father, reads reasonably enough, in some particulars; but some of the aims are dangerously utopian, and might be expressed more briefly in the formula repeated to Mr. Kennan by the Irkutsk Chief of Police, as coming from an exiled lady in answer to the question, "What government she and her companions would establish in Russia if they had their way—a republic, a limited monarchy, or a commune?"—"All men have been created free and equal, and any kind of government is a violence done to individual liberty." The foreign anarchists have already tried to demonstrate to Americans the merits of this plan, but they were hanged before its full beauties had been made apparent in practice. The Russian woman and her comrades were merely exiled. The fact remains that, although nearly every educated Russian frankly advocates constitutional government under a limited monarchy, all confess that the masses are not yet ready for this; and their doubts as to the expediency of elective assemblies are reinforced by the abuses of justice and other defects which they perceive in the great model of elective government, the United States. For Russia can criticise as well as America.

In conclusion, it may not be amiss to say a word as to the "Rules relating to Police Surveillance," under which the administrative exiles live. Sec. 7 provides that the exile shall not leave the place to which he is banished without permission from the proper authorities; and if he moves from one house to another, he shall notify the police within twenty-four hours. This is a supplement to sec. 5, which says that when an exile reaches his destination, he shall be deprived of his passport, and shall be furnished with another document setting forth his name, rank, and previous residence, and giving notice to all concerned that he is authorized to live in the village of X——. These conditions do not differ essentially from those under which ordinary natives and foreign visitors live. A foreign passport entitles one to a six-months' residence in the empire, after which a special passport, containing the above information, and valid for one year, is issued. Both these passports must be sent to the police when one changes one's residence from one town to another, or from one house to another, and preliminary permission is required before one leaves the empire. The expense is slight, the inconvenience no-

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thing, unless in very exceptional cases; the security afforded in case of accident or violence, because one's whereabouts can be ascertained from the official records, is great. The passport of the exile contains no data as to rank, etc., which is not contained in the ordinary passport, and the information required is less detailed and searching than that demanded by the German police from ordinary travellers.

That Mr. Kennan should have been charmed by and have fallen in love with his politicals is in no way surprising. As a nation, the Russians are a charming and lovable people, and their attractions are heightened, naturally, by their sufferings. But, while indulging in judicious sympathy and pity for innocent sufferers all over the world, it will be well, in spite of Mr. Kennan's extremely well-written and interesting book, to keep our heads clear, and subdue the fervor of our undiscriminating indignation and interference, until we are thoroughly posted on Russian life, nature, habits, and character (which is never more complicated—though complicated at its best—than in the case of these exiles), and on the difficult problems which the Russian Government has to solve in many directions when it undertakes reform in any given quarter.

Dark Days in Chile: an Account of the Revolution of 1891. By Maurice H. Hervey, Special Correspondent of the *Times*. Macmillan & Co.

THE chief object of Mr. Hervey's book is to show that the *Times* was not justified in ordering him home from Chili; but after reading it the real mystery is why he was ever sent there. So jaunty and self-confident a rattle-pate as his own pages unwittingly reveal him to be is a most unlikely man to get at the facts in a case of disputed constitutional interpretation and clash of powers such as he was despatched to investigate. On his own showing, he gave much more time to carousing than to news-gathering, extract after extract from his diary referring mysteriously to certain days and nights of revelry sandwiched in between his hobnobbing with Balmaceda and Government officials and banquets and receptions. Indeed, where he went to wreck was on his pronounced love of creature comforts; and after Balmaceda had placed special trains at his disposal, and "two large cabins fixed up *en suite*" on board the *Imperial*, the idea that such a generous-hearted ruler could be a tyrant became flatly unthinkable.

He goes through the form of a serious argument, it is true, to prove that Balmaceda had the best of the constitutional dispute; but his suppression of facts which must have been perfectly well known to him at the time, makes his discussion wholly futile. Thus he admits but one infringement of the Constitution—"at least in spirit," he cautiously says—on the President's part, namely, his refusing to call an extra session of Congress at the instance of the "Comisión Conservadora"; overlooking the levying of taxes without warrant of law, the closing of the courts, etc. Beside all this, the unconstitutional, or at least extra-constitutional, attitude of Congress in refusing to vote the appropriation bills, and in endeavoring thereby to inaugurate a system of parliamentary government, is a venial offence.

But it is idle to take Mr. Hervey's book seriously. He is hopelessly weak in his facts throughout. Thus he thinks it an amazing piece of stupidity on the part of the editor of the *Times* to give more credit to a Lisbon correspondent than to a man on the spot in Chili; not knowing, apparently, how the *Times's* Lisbon correspondent was secretly supplied with accurate information by an Englishwoman resident in Chili. And in other ways he betrays an incredible amount of ignorance. Moreover, a great deal of his narrative bears on its face the stamp of good-natured mendacity—that is, the idea that he must make out a roistering and spicy story even if the facts had to crack in the process. This lends a certain interest to the book, by constantly stimulating the reader's amused wonder at the effrontery which could try to palm off as historic such impossible conversations as are here recorded; and the sprightly, *bon-vivant* air of the whole prevents the volume from being often dull. In one particular, too, no little information is given—the account of the various naval operations. But, this apart, no one need consult the book for anything except a series of desultory and unveracious chapters. The writer's numerous ventures into Spanish are nearly all dreadfully misprinted; we should have thought the publishers would have seen the need of getting the proof-reading done by a more competent hand than his.

A Supplement to Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors. By John Foster Kirk. 2 vols., 8vo. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1891.

THE proverbial ungraciousness of looking a gift-horse in the mouth is particularly applicable in the case of a bibliography, since in no class of literary labor is the reward, either in fame or in money, so disproportionate to the time consumed. We say this in advance, that we may not be supposed to underrate our obligations to editor or publisher of the work whose title we give above. The original 'Dictionary' filled three volumes; Mr. Kirk's is contained in two of nearly the same size, although the first work covered three centuries, and the latter covers, on an average, only thirty years. The compiler has been fully conscious of "one of the embarrassing complications of the task—the necessity, namely, of referring, at every step, to the entries in an earlier work, and connecting his own with them by a process of dovetailing." It is a pity that both he and his publishers could not have seen their way to cast aside the old plates, and issue a second edition of the original brought down to date. Any one who has used Mr. Allibone's three volumes knows that they contain much irrelevant matter; some of Mr. Kirk's, even, could well be spared. By judicious excision the whole could easily have been brought within four volumes; and it may safely be asserted, in view of the special character of the market for such works, that nine-tenths of those who will buy the Supplement would have bought the revised issue. The work ought to be not only in every library, but in every school in which English literature is taught.

As regards the manner in which the continuation has been done, we do not know whether we ought to say that errors are few or many. We have noticed several, but we should hesitate to say that they were numerous in proportion to the total number of statements. As to one feature, however, we think the compiler has been decidedly remiss, viz., in furnishing biographical data. In cases where authors were applied to for information, they "occasionally furnished the materials required with a fulness which would have imparted a liveliness to the narration not in keeping with its purpose and surroundings." But it does not follow that the compiler's course of giving no details, in many cases, is to be approved. To know, for instance, that the author of an historical work has been a professor of history at a reputable institution is to be able to form a useful, if only provisional, opinion as to the value of his work. But of President Andrews of Brown University, formerly professor both at Brown and at Cornell, we are told absolutely nothing—not even his name is given in full, and no mention is made of one of his books. The same is true of Profs. G. B. Adams, E. W. Bemis, E. G. Bourne, J. G. Clark, and we know not how many more. There is no mention of E. A. Cruikshank, whose history of Welland County, Ont., was published in 1887 (591 pp.); nor of E. W. Davies, a novelist; nor of J. W. De Forest's 'Justine's Lovers' (1878); nor of A. A. Graham, who wrote not only a history of Indiana (1876, 750 pp.), but also ten large histories of counties in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; nor of Barnet or William Barnett Phillips, both novelists, the latter of whom was an author as early as 1867; nor of E. Walford, author of a Life of Bayard. H. W. Chaplin is said to have published a book called 'The Village Convict,' in New York, 1884-85, whereas this was one of several tales in 'Five Hundred Dollars' (Boston, 1888). In two cases we observe a work recorded which was announced, but never published. In the case of Elizabeth and "Emily" Bellamy one author is made into two. We should have thought the proof-reader would have noticed the absurdity of the statement (page 879) that a collection of 'Fugitive Poetry, 1600–1878' was published in 1868.

Want of care is shown in the occasional enumeration, as distinct publications, of the same book published under different titles, *e. g.*, C. Barnard's 'My Ten-Rod Farm' and 'Gardening for Money,' or Mrs. Terhune's 'Col. Floyd's Wards' and 'Helen Gardner.' Pseudonyms, even when they show for such on their face, are sometimes printed without any hint of their true character—for example, "Aitchenbee," *i. e.*, H[enry] N[ugent] B[anks]. Less obvious pen-names are "Ada Cambridge" (Mrs. Cross), "Virginia Champlin" (Grace V. Lord), "M. J. Colquhoun" (Mrs. C. Scott), "Marie Connor" (Mrs. Leighton), "Milly Deane" (Mrs. Erskine, her name being elsewhere given), "M. B. Fife" (Margaret M. Black), "Evan Stanton" (Rev. T. P. Hughes). Change of name by marriage, also, is sometimes ignored, as in the cases of Julia Cartwright (Ady), Dorothea Gerard (Longard), Laura Holloway (Langford), Lucy Lillie (Harte), A. R. Macfarlane (Logan), E. Nesbit (Bland), Annie Swan (Smith), Adelaide Trafton (Knox), and Mary Tytler (Greene). The compiler's intention evidently is to mention the date of death when known, but this is often omitted: among many instances we mention only Robert Mackenzie, the historian (1881), Henry Mayhew, the social reformer (1887), Lucy Mitchell, the art writer (1888), and Elizabeth Taylor (1879). Mrs. Mortimer is said to have died in 1874 (instead of 1878), and Schliemann in 1891 (instead of 1890).

Mr. Kirk has before now given ample proofs of learning, taste, and discrimination; and in the not inconsiderable portion of the present work which calls for these qualities they are not found wanting. We refer particularly to the skill and discretion with which he has chosen his critical citations, the reading for

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which must have been largely a labor of love. In the original work, the editor's prejudices and peculiar point of view were unfortunately obvious, but to see how well this sort of thing can be done one has only to look at the articles on George Eliot, or Howells, or Stevenson, or Swinburne, or Lewis and William Morris. In the quotations ranged under the names of distinguished historians and political thinkers, such as Mill, Morley, and Motley, Mr. Kirk is less full, and perhaps less satisfactory. Mr. Freeman, however, gets as much attention as he deserves—possibly more—and Herbert Spencer is adequately treated. As to men of science, Darwin is handsomely cared for, and Wallace well; but from the notices of Huxley and Tyndall the reader might infer that their reputation was that of literary or philosophical scientists rather than investigators.

Le Morte Darthur. By Syr Thomas Malory. Faithfully reprinted from the original edition (1485) of William Caxton, edited by H. Oskar Sommer, Ph.D. Vol. III. Studies on the Sources. With an introductory essay by Andrew Lang, M.A. London: David Nutt. 1891. Pp. xxv., 338.

Dr. Sommer now presents to "the world of scholarship" the final volume of the work which he began to prepare for the press four years ago. The first volume contained the text of Caxton's 'Le Morte Darthur,' a noble quarto of 861 pages; the second, 230 pages of introduction, including bibliography and essays on the various editions, collations, notes on the language, a complete and critical index of names and places, and a glossary; the final volume deals with the "Sources." It was well known that our Iliad of Chivalry was made from earlier romances. Caxton tells us in his preface that "Syr Thomas Malorye dyd take it oute of certeyn bookes of frensshe and reduced it into Englysshe." Malory, also, in the text itself, frequently reminds us that he tells the tale as the French book says. French books and English books telling similar adventures of the same heroes have been long familiar. Dr. Sommer has attempted to trace in detail the whole series of adventures, tell us where the original of each is found, and set the original before us by description and quotation, so that we can make out clearly what credit belongs to Malory. Thus he finds that the first seven chapters of book first run parallel with the 'Merlin' of Robert de Boron. He therefore gives a *résumé* of this 'Merlin,' with quotations of considerable passages, stopping at every turn to point out in what particulars, if any, Malory varies from the original. It is accompanied, of course, with much collateral information, such as the thorough student desiderates, about other texts, the bibliography, and the like, and makes a pretty long chapter—more than twice as long as the Malory.

The result of it, however, is to give a distinct picture of Malory's manner of working. In the first place, the De Boron story is more than five times as long as Malory's. The materials worked up in the whole 'Morte Darthur' are ten times as long as the book. Then this brevity is not gained by dropping descriptive particulars, and reducing all to a thread of narrative, or an outline of adventures, but by modification of the series of events and persons, omitting such as do not suit the adapter. What he does tell he tells with minute realism, often adding fresh particulars. These Dr. Sommer sometimes finds in other versions, sometimes credits to Malory's invention. Changes are not infrequently made to adjust matters to different forms of the story which Malory has accepted in the later books. He is not merely collecting by whim a jumble of good stories. He has a plan. His diction also is seen to be his own. Sometimes he translates literally, sometimes not; but he never goes far without showing vital signs. So that, on the whole, Malory writing his 'Morte Darthur' from De Boron, is quite like Shakspere writing a scene of "Julius Cæsar" from North's 'Plutarch.'

With the eighth chapter Malory took up the "Ordinary Merlin," and at the eighteenth he changed to the "Suite de Merlin"; at book v. he took up the "Morte Arthur" in the version of the Scotch poet Huchown. Thus far Dr. Sommer goes on as in the first seven chapters, but afterwards he moves more rapidly. He goes through, however, the whole twenty-one books, and is able to give the originals of all except the seventh book and a few pages in the sixth, the twelfth, and the nineteenth. These last pages narrate Lancelot stories which are not found in any known sources. A study of them in connection with variations elsewhere from the known Lancelots convinces Dr. Sommer that Malory has followed in the main a lost "Suite de Lancelot," which we may well hope may be found, or at least fragments sufficient to construct it with the help of Malory. The seventh book is the adventures of Gareth and Lynette, with which Tennyson begins his Round Table series. Dr. Sommer can trace no part of this book, nor can he find anywhere the slightest reference to Gareth's exploits on this adventure, or to the Lady Lyonesse, her sister Lynet, her brother Gryngamor, or the five brothers whom Gareth fought and overcame. He suggests that it is a story not belonging to the Arthurian cycle, but adapted to it by Malory, or by some unknown author whose version has been lost. Malory speaks of his "frensshe book" as usual in this narrative, but the style is perfect Malory—Malory delighted with the unwonted humors of his personages. He evidently relished the later lively fabliaux; possibly this may be one of his own making. To the general reader it is like one of Shakspere's comic scenes in a tragedy: it gives a delightful laugh; and now that Tennyson has repeated it we may safely say that its introduction shows high art in Malory. Tennyson closes:

> "And he that told the tale in older times
> Says that Sir Gareth wedded Lyonors,
> But he that told it later, says Lynette."

So far as appears in Dr. Sommer's "Sources," all the old books say "Lyonors," that is, "Lyonesse." It is Tennyson who says "Lynette," that is, "Lynet."

So far as the statistical setting forth of the immediate antecedents of Malory's book is concerned, Dr. Sommer's volume is of great value. He has completed a work of immense labor. It is pleasant to learn that he means to continue his investigations. There is opportunity, one sees, for hundreds of papers of research and criticism upon the exact relations of different versions, MSS., and editions to particular passages of Malory. On the other side the more inviting question of the origin and development of these romances waits for solution. Much has been written on it, and by great scholars. Dr. Sommer gives us some bibliography. By and by, perhaps, he may give us a volume.

Mr. Lang's introductory essay brings Malory into pleasant relations with Homer and Tennyson, and gives him much gracious praise for the enjoyable elements of his work, "the noble and renowned acts of humanity, gentleness, and chivalry" which he likes to tell, and the simplicity and picturesqueness of his style.

The Dramatic Works of George Farquhar. Edited with Life and Notes by Alex. Charles Ewald, F.S.A. 2 vols. London: John C. Nimmo.

Mr. Nimmo has followed up his excellent edition of the plays of Sir George Etheredge by the present equally handsome and welcome edition of the plays of Farquhar; we hope that he may find his account in the venture and be encouraged to give us also, in similar stately volumes, the plays of Congreve, of Vanbrugh, of Wycherley, and of Cibber. Etheredge was edited by Mr. Wilson Verity; Farquhar was prepared for the press by the late A. C. Ewald, and has been seen through it by Mr. Robert W. Lowe, a far more accomplished and accurate student of stage-history than the writer he succeeded. The notes, therefore, to the second volume are more to the point, all too infrequent as they are—a rare thing in these days of over-editing. We could have wished, too, for somewhat more elaborate introductions to each play, tracing its history since the original performance. In the Life prefixed to these volumes, the editor refers to the "comparative failure" of the "Inconstant," without telling us that the play afterwards became a great favorite in Garrick's time—as we are reminded by one of Sheridan's jests, who, when asked his opinion of Garrick's *Young Mirabel*, answered summarily, "Ad-mirable!" In this country, also, the "Inconstant" long held the stage, with Mr. Murdoch as the hard-hearted and sharp-tongued hero; and it is only four or five years since the play was revived in this city by Mr. Daly, with Mr. John Drew as *Young Mirabel* and Miss Ada Rehan as the devoted *Oriana*. Mr. Daly has also revived for us what is perhaps the best of Farquhar's comedies, the briskest and brightest, the "Recruiting Officer." Mr. Ewald, however, speaks of Farquhar's leading characters as "now banished from the stage" (p. 13).

Type, paper, presswork, and binding are what we expect from Mr. Nimmo's imprint.

Old Cottage and Domestic Architecture in Southwest Surrey, and Notes on the Early History of the Division. By Ralph Nevill, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A. Second edition. Guildford: Printed by Billing & Sons; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1891.

This is an admirable book of its class. To an antiquarian it is the better for being confined to the buildings of a small district; and to an architect, at least none the worse, for one can better detect on what the degrees of excellence among the examples depend than if the types were more various. It has the great advantage of being written by an architect who knows the meaning of both design and construction, and of the relation between the two. He has illustrated the book abundantly with sketches, small but adequate to his purpose, of a kind of buildings that is apt to our present fashion of country cottages—in half-timber work, tiling, brick, and stone. His commentary, technical and artistic, is excellent; the sketches are after the English habit of pen-drawing, a little labored, and dry for want of accent, but tell their story well, and the drawings of detail leave nothing to wish for but more of them. The buildings are simple and modest, sparing of detail, and look as straightforward as if it had needed nothing but intelligence and a hint from necessity to produce them; but if any one will

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try to imitate, not copy, the charm of such examples as the Crown Inn at Chiddingfold, the house on the Mount at Guildford, or the cottages at East Street Haslemere, at Witley, Compton, Binscombe, Wonersh, or a dozen others of these, and can succeed, it will be in virtue of a command of design and proportion that will bear testimony to the skill of the original builders. The book gives the architect much valuable suggestion, as well as much pleasure, and will afford the enterprising amateur rope enough for endless entanglement, if not for suicide.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

A Reporter's Romance. Rand, McNally & Co. 25 cents.
Brimmer, Martin. Egypt: Three Essays on the History, Religion and Art of Ancient Egypt. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $5.
Crawford, F. M. Mr. Isaacs. Macmillan & Co. $1.
Dod's Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage of Great Britain and Ireland for 1892. London: Whitaker & Co.; New York: Macmillan. $3.75.
Easter, Marguerite E. Clytie, and Other Poems. Boston: A. J. Philpot & Co.
Everhart, J. R. By Boat and Rail. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.25.
Foster, H. A. Zululu, the Maid of Anahuac. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.
Garden and Forest. Vol. IV. *Garden and Forest* Publishing Co.
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